

and listen; otherwise, I will have to adjourn the House for some time. This way I cannot go on. (*Interruptions*) You don't allow me to proceed with the business. (*Interruptions*) Nothing is going on record, I would request Members to cooperate with the Chair. Please don't record anybody. (*Interruptions*) It seems nobody is interested in discussing any matter, just making noise, that is all. (*Interruptions*) Don't record anything.

HON. MEMBERS:\*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you do not agree, I will go to the next business. I will take up Special Mention. Shri Shiva Chandra Jha. What he says will be recorded.

HON. MEMBERS: No....(*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. Then I will call Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare. He may make his Special Mention.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): I rise this afternoon to invite the attention of the Health Minister to a matter of grave concern....(*Interruptions*). Mr. Deputy Chairman, you have called me. They have no right to disturb me....(*Interruptions*). Will you allow us to disturb you when you speak? I am not yielding....(*Interruptions*).

श्री उदयभारति : सदन को कार्यवाही  
1 वजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned at twenty-nine minutes past twelve of the clock.

1 P. M.

The House reassembled at One of the Clock, Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

I. STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING APPROVAL OF THE PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE PRESI-

DENT IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF PUNJAB,

II. MOTION SEEKING REVOCATION OF THE PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF PUNJAB.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir,....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All the Special Mentions will be taken up after 5 o' clock. I will call the Home Minister to make the statement now. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir,....(*Interruptions*).

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, you cannot have the procedure like this (*Interruptions*). It is very unfair. (*Interruptions*). It is very unfair. You cannot do that. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir,....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already taken half-an-hour. Let the Minister complete the statement first. Yes, Mr. Minister.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI P. C. SETHI): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 6th October, 1983 under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Punjab."

Copies of the report of the Governor and Proclamation have been laid on the Table of the House.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir,....(*Interruptions*).

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: No statement has been made by the Leader of the House as to whether the Prime Minister has received any information or whether she is going to make any statement on this happening in Karnataka. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI P. C. SETHI:** The House is aware of the situation in Punjab which has been causing concern. The atmosphere of public order in Punjab vitiated on account of illegal activities of the extremist, terrorist and secessionist elements in the State. A number of violent incidents have been perpetrated with a view to creating scare amongst the peaceful people and to vitiate the communal atmosphere in the State. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN:** \* \* \*

**SHRI P. C. SETHI:** The Chief Minister of Punjab in his letter dated 6th October 1983 to the Governor had stated that he had reviewed the unfortunate developments in the State and had come to the conclusion that they had acquired a dimension which was not confined to the State of Punjab, but had serious implications for the country as a whole. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN:** Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, you don't want to hear anything from this side? (*Interruptions*). You don't want to hear anything from this side, Sir? (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI B. D. KHOBRADE** (Maharashtra): Sir, this issue can be discussed in five minutes. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI:** This scandal in Karnataka can be discussed within five minutes. Will the Prime Minister make a statement on this? (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI P. C. SETHI:** The Chief Minister felt that the situation called for an intervention of the Central Government for a temporary period to meet the requirements of the national security and integrity. In view of the position stated by him, the Chief Minister tendered the resignation of his Council of Ministers and suggested that the Governor may recommend to the President to exercise his powers under article 356 of the Constitution and take over the administration of the State for a temporary period. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI DIPEN GHOSH** (West Bengal): Sir, what is he reading out? About the

price of the MLAs? (*Interruptions*). Sir, what is he reading out? It is about the price of the MLAs? (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI P. C. SETHI:** The Governor of Punjab in his letter dated 6th October 1983 to the President had *inter alia* stated that in spite of having an absolute majority in the Assembly, in the larger interest of the State and the country, the Chief Minister did not wish his Cabinet to continue in office. (*Interruptions*). Taking into account the prevailing situation in the State, the composition of the Assembly and the stand of the Members of the Shiromani Akali Dal, the Governor considered it futile to engage in the formality of sending for the Leader of the Opposition or the leaders of other groups in the Assembly and ascertaining their view about the possibilities of formation of an alternative Government. (*Interruptions*). He had come to the conclusion that a situation had arisen in which the State Government could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and, therefore, recommended to the President for action under article 356 of the Constitution and further suggested that the State Legislature might be kept under suspended animation for the present. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN:** Sir, you do not want to hear us? (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI:** Sir, Karnataka should be discussed. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI P. C. SETHI:** The Central Government considered the report of the Governor and the situation in Punjab and felt that there was no alternative but to issue the Proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution and place the State Assembly under suspended animation. As such the Proclamation under article 356 of the Constitution was issued on 6th October 1983 and the State Assembly was placed under suspended animation to ensure that the President's Rule is not prolonged beyond what is absolutely necessary. I hope that every section of the people in the State would co-operate with the State Government to ensure that normalcy is restored quickly to enable the elected Government to function. (*Interruptions*)

\*\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

With these words, Sir, I command the Proclamation issued on 6th October 1983, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Punjab for approval by this august House. (Interruptions.)

*The question was proposed.*

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Sir, you don't want to hear us? (Interruptions).

SOME HON. MEMBERS: What has he read out? (Interruptions).

What is he reading?

SHRI P. C. SETHI, Sir.... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, motion by Shri Shiva Chandra Jha. Do you move it? (Interruptions)

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA (Bihar): Sir, I beg to move the following motion:—

"That this House recommends to the President that the Proclamation issued by the President on the 6th October 1983, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Punjab, be revoked."

*The quesaiion was proposed.*  
(Inerruptions)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Karnataka, Karnataka.... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you do not want any peaceful discussion in the House, it is no concern for democracy. It is just a mockery. (Interruptions)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: On a point of order. (Interruptions)

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: This remark of the Chair we do not accept. This is a very serious issue affecting the future of democracy. We would walk out. (Interruptions)

श्री सुलतान सिंह (हरियाणा) : यह कर्नाटक असेम्बली का मामला है। इस पार्लियामेंट का उसूल है। (व्यवधान)

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: This is a mockery. Can't we put across our views? (Interruptions)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Karnataka, Karnataka... (Interruptions)

श्री उपसभापति : कृपा करके बैठ जाइये । ... (व्यवधान)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI:\*

AN HON. MEMBER: Answer this one \* \* \*

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: \* \* \*

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: We want discussion on this. (Interruptions)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Karnataka, Karnataka, Karnataka.... (Interruptions)  
What is being discussed? (Interruptions)  
Karnataka, Karnataka.... (Interruptions)

श्री उपसभापति : श्री सुलतान सिंह आप पंजाब पर बहस आरम्भ कीजिए ।

श्री सुलतान सिंह : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं गृह मंत्री जी के पंजाब के बारे में दिये गये वक्तव्य का समर्थन करता हूँ। श्रीमन्, इस मुल्क को बचाने के लिए यह कदम उठाया गया है। मैं होम मिनिस्टर के स्टेटमेंट का वेलकम करता हूँ कि पंजाब के अन्दर राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू किया गया है। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री अरविन्द नरेश कुलकर्णी : क्या डिस्कस हो रहा है ?

श्री सुलतान सिंह : आज मुल्क कहाँ जा रहा है, आप जरा सोचिये। (व्यवधान)

\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुलकर्णी : पेसा कहा गया ? (व्यवधान)

श्री सुलतान सिंह : सारे देश का सोना बेच दिया। (व्यवधान)

एक माननीय सदस्य : भजन लाल ने पैसा दिया। (व्यवधान)

श्री सुलतान सिंह : कर्नाटक की असेम्बली का मामला यहां नहीं उठाना चाहिये। आप लोग उसको यहां क्यों उठा रहे हैं। (व्यवधान)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I want your permission. You are not allowing me.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL (Gujarat) : You have not allowing M. Kulkarni. He was the first man to get up. You should allow him.

श्री उपसभापति : आप इतने लोग खड़े हैं। आप लोग बैठेंगे नहीं तो मैं किसी को बुला नहीं सकता। मैं विपक्ष के नेताओं से कहना चाहता हूं (व्यवधान) आप इतना हल्ला करेंगे तो मैं कुछ भी नहीं सुन सकता (व्यवधान) अगर आपके दिल में जनतंत्र के लिये जरा भी आदर बचा है तो आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि आप लोग बैठ जाइये। कृपा करके सदन को बाजार मत बनाइये। कृपा करके सदन के नियमों का पालन कीजिए। (व्यवधान) आप लोग मेरी बात सुनने की तैयार नहीं। आप में इतना भी धैर्य नहीं... (व्यवधान) आप लोग बैठ जाइये।

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : (उत्तर प्रदेश) हम नहीं बैठेंगे। (व्यवधान)

श्री उपसभापति : नहीं बैठेंगे तो जाइये। (व्यवधान) श्री सुकुल।

श्री पी० एन० सुकुल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, पंजाब में जो राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू हुआ है और इस सम्बन्ध में हमारे गृह मंत्री मंत्रालय की ओर से संकल्प आया है मैं उसका हार्दिक समर्थन करता हूं (व्यवधान)। उपसभापति महोदय, पंजाब में जो कुछ हुआ उससे न केवल हमारा नुकसान हुआ है (व्यवधान) बल्कि हमारी गरदन शर्म से झुक गई है (व्यवधान) वहां पर लगभग 175 लोग मारे जा चुके हैं, पांच सौ से भी अधिक लोग घायल हो चुके हैं और बीस लाख रुपयों से भी अधिक की सम्पत्ति बैंकों से लूटी जा चुकी है। लोगों की हत्याएं हो रही हैं, बैंक लूटे जा रहे हैं और लोगों में असुरक्षा की भावना व्याप्त है... (व्यवधान)

श्री मन्भाई पटेल : आप श्री कुलकर्णी को क्यों नहीं बुलाते हैं ? आप पहले श्री कुलकर्णी को बोलने दीजिये... (व्यवधान)

श्री उपसभापति : मैं कुछ कहूँ, लेकिन आप तो सब खड़े हो जाते हैं... (व्यवधान)

श्री पी० एन० सुकुल : वहां पर जब जुलूस चल रहा था तो करीब डेढ़ सौ उग्रवादों सिखों ने हमला किया... (व्यवधान)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Why don't you allow Mr. Advani to speak? (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You please take your seats. For more than half an hour.... (Interruptions) You please take your seats.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : आप श्री आडवाणी को बोलने के लिए बुलाइये... (व्यवधान)।

श्री उपसभापति : ठीक है, आप बुलाते हैं तो बुलाइये... (व्यवधान)

श्री पी० एन० सुकुल : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं कह रहा था कि पंजाब में जो स्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई है, जहां पर लोगों को जाने जा रहें हों, हत्याएं की जा रही हों, बैंक लूटे जा रहे हों, वैसे स्थिति में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करना पंजाब में बहुत जरूरी हो गया था। जिस दिन राष्ट्रपति शासन वहां पर लागू हुआ उसी दिन छः निर्दोष बस यात्रियों की हत्याएं की गईं... (व्यवधान)

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN : Sir, we do not want to associate ourselves. We want to express our views on a very grave issue. The House is not allowing us. We want a reaction from the Government to the allegation made by these Chief Minister of Karnataka of the money that is used by the Centre. (Interruptions) We want to have a reaction from the Government. Unless we have the reaction from the Government, we do not want to associate ourselves. Sir we stage a walk-out in protest against the Ruling Party by not association with the Members of the Ruling Party.

[At this stage, some hon. Member's left the Chamber]

श्री पी० एन० सुकुल : इस प्रकार की स्थिति में वहां के मुख्य मंत्री श्री दरबारा सिंह ने कहा कि हमसे स्थिति संभाली नहीं जा रही है, इसलिए स्थिति को संभालने के लिए उन्होंने केन्द्र से अनुरोध किया कि पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया जाय। पंजाब में एक बहुत ही राब स्थिति पैदा हो गई थी। जब राज्य में निर्दोष लोगों को शूट किया जा रहा हो, बॉम्बिंग हो रही हो, लोगों की जाने जा रही हों,

बैंकों को लूटा जा रहा हो तो राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करना बहुत जरूरी हो गया था। पंजाब के मुख्यमंत्री श्री दरबारा सिंह का अखबारों में यह बयान था कि हमने स्वयं केन्द्रीय सरकार से अनुरोध किया कि पंजाब में राष्ट्रपति का शासन लागू किया जाए... (व्यवधान)

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BUTA SINGH) : Sir, with your permission, I just want to ask one clarification from you. All that was said, has it gone on record?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No. Those Members who were allowed to speak were going on record.

SHRI J. K. JAIN (Madhya Pradesh) : Even before the adjournment of the House, whatever they were speaking, has that also gone on record or not because you had given a ruling that it has not gone on record.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA : There is a possibility of something going on record. Right in the beginning you said that nothing will go on record. Then they went on speaking.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I will see the record. In any case, in the noise that was being made, nothing could go on record. I will see.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA : Noise is another thing.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : My ruling is that nothing will go on record. After that, nothing could have gone on record. If anything has gone on record, I will look into it.

श्री पी० एन० सुकुल : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं कह रहा था कि पंजाब में आज जो स्थिति पैदा हुई है उसकी शुरुआत सन् 1978 में वैशाखी के दिन हुई जब अमृतसर में निरंकारियों का सम्मेलन

[श्री पी० एन० सुकुल]

हो रहा था तो कुछ उग्रवादियों तत्वों ने उस पर हमला किया था। एक्सट्रीमिस्ट्स सिखों ने लोगों को मारा और उसके बाद यह हत्याओं का सिलसिला शुरू हुआ। यह सिलसिला तब से जारी है। आज के ही अखबारों में आपने पढ़ा होगा कि उग्रवादों तत्वों को, आतंकवादी तत्वों को, एक्सट्रीमिस्ट्स को ट्रेनिंग काश्मीर में मिल रही है। उनको ट्रेनिंग गुजरावाला, पाकिस्तान में मिल रही है और दरबारा सिंह जी ने स्वयं अखबार वालों को बताया था कि जर्मनी, यू० एस० ए०, कनाडा से इन लोगों को, सिख, जो आतिवादी तत्व हैं, उनको वहाँ से सहायता मिल रही है, हथियार मिल रहे हैं, पैसा मिल रहा है और इन चीजों के फलस्वरूप एक दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण स्थिति पंजाब में पैदा हो गई है। जो पंजाब हमारा ग्रेनरी कहा जाता था, जहाँ के उद्योग विकास की चरमसीमा पर थे, आज वहाँ के उद्योगों के लोग घबड़ाये हुए हैं, आज वहाँ के उद्योगपतियों को बंबई, कलकत्ता, मद्रास के जो डीलर्स हैं, उनका उनसे पैसा नहीं मिलता। इसका कारण यह है कि उन पैसा लगाने वालों के अंदर एक असुरक्षा की भावना पैदा हो गई है कि अगर यहाँ पैसा लगायेंगे तो पता नहीं आगे इंडस्ट्री चले या न चले। ऐसी स्थिति में वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया और मुख्यमंत्री के कहने से लागू किया गया। वहाँ के मुख्यमंत्री ने यह मंजूर कर लिया था कि स्थिति को सुधारना हमारे लिए संभव नहीं है और इसलिए वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया जाए।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** गवर्नर की रिपोर्ट के आधार पर लागू किया गया।

**श्री पी० एन० सुकुल :** गवर्नर की रिपोर्ट मुख्यमंत्री के कहने पर थी। ऐसी स्थिति में जब कि राज्य सरकार स्थिति को संभाल न पा रही हो और ऐसा मुख्यमंत्री कहे, वहाँ के गवर्नर कहे तो उसके बाद कोई दूसरा चारा नहीं रह जाता, केन्द्रीय सरकार के पास, सिवाय इसके कि वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करे और वहाँ जन-धन की जो हानि हो रही है, होने वाली है, उसको यथाशक्ति रोकने का प्रयत्न करे। आज जो तत्व वहाँ पर हत्याएँ कर रहे हैं, मैं तो समझता हूँ कि अकाली लोगों का भी उन के ऊपर नियंत्रण नहीं रह गया है। आज स्थिति उनके हाथ से भी निकल गई है। यह ठीक है कि उन्होंने भड़काया, उनको आगे लाये, लेकिन आज जो स्थिति बन गई है वह उनके नियंत्रण में नहीं है। उग्रवादी जो तत्व हैं और खासकर भिंडरावाला और उनके अनुयायी और विशेष रूप से कीर्तनी-जत्था, इन लोगों के जो कारनामे हैं, ये जो दंगा-फसाद मचाये हुए हैं यह एक बड़ा चिन्तनीय विषय है। पिछले डेढ़ साल में करीब-करीब डेढ़ लाख लोगों ने कोर्ट अरेस्ट किया, गिरफ्तारियाँ की। श्री प्रकाश सिंह बादल का कहना है कि आजादी की लड़ाई में भी लोगों ने इतनी गिरफ्तारियाँ नहीं दी थीं जितनी गिरफ्तारियाँ हमारे इस आंदोलन में पंजाब के लोगों ने दी हैं। यह जो कुछ हो रहा है यह भारतवर्ष को बांटने के लिए, एक अलग सिख राज्य स्थापित करने के लिए हो रहा है, इस मांग को लेकर यह सारा झगड़ा हो रहा है। उपसभापति महोदय, सब को मालूम है, इतिहास इस बात का साक्षी है कि यह जो सिख वर्ग है, यह हिन्दुओं में से ही निकला है। हमारे खुशवंत सिंह का एक आर्टिकल मैं पढ़ रहा था कि जो "संडे" में दो महीने पहले छपा था। उस लेख में उन्होंने खुद मंजूर किया था

कि एक जमाने में, ज्यादा दिन नहीं हुए, प्रत्येक हिन्दू परिवार से एक आदमी सिख बनाया जाता था और सिख धर्म में उसको डोनेट किया जाता था। तमाम हिन्दुओं ने डोनेशन दिया, उन्होंने सिखों को डोनेट किया लेकिन आज वही सिख, अतिवादी सिख तत्व जो हैं वे हिन्दुओं की जान के ग्राहक बने हुए हैं। यह नहीं मानता कि सारे सिख हिन्दुओं के खिलाफ हैं। इस तरह के थोड़े से लोग हैं। लेकिन इन लोगों ने ऐसी स्थिति पैदा कर दी है और धर्म की आड़ लेकर वे कहते हैं कि धर्म और राजनीति को अलग नहीं किया जा सकता है। ये जो तत्व हैं इनका यह कहना है और इन्होंने ऐसी स्थिति पैदा कर दी है और अनेक लोगों को मारने का उन्होंने निर्णय किया है और इसक फलस्वरूप हमारे पुलिस अधिकारी श्री अटवाल और दूसरे लोग मारे गए और आज भी मारे जा रहे हैं। वहां पर जो इन्फैंट लोग हैं उनकी हत्याओं की जा रही है और वहां पर एक बवंडर पैदा करने का, एक अनिश्चितता की स्थिति उत्पन्न करने और एक असुरक्षा की भावना पैदा करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। इसके लिए जो तत्व जिम्मेदार हैं उनकी जितनी भी निंदा की जाय वह कम है। उप-सभापति महोदय, मैं श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की सरकार को बधाई देना चाहूंगा कि उन्होंने हरचंद कोशिश की कि हम वार्ता से इस मामले को सुलझाएँ। बार-बार उन लोगों को बुलाया गया, वार्ताएँ हुईं, हमारे गृह मंत्री महोदय स्वयं वहां गये लेकिन वहां पर जो परिस्थिति है वह यह है कि जो वहां के उग्रवादी तत्व हैं वे किसी वार्ता से संतुष्ट होने वाले नहीं हैं। यही कारण है कि वहां की सरकार को, प्रशासन को, मुख्यमंत्री को, राज्यपाल को यह कहना पड़ा कि राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया जाए नहीं तो यहां पर स्थिति

सुधरेगी नहीं। ऐसी स्थिति में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया और इसीलिए मैं कहता हूं कि यह जो राष्ट्रपति जी का शासन लागू किया गया मेरे विचार में तो इसको पहले लागू हो जाना चाहिए था। यह तो हमारे नेताओं की उदारता थी जो वार्ता के लिए उनको बार-बार बुलाते थे, इन्तजार करते थे कि शायद स्थिति सुधर जाए बातचीत से। जो राष्ट्रपति शासन अब लागू किया गया है इसको पहले लागू हो जाना चाहिए था। इसके लागू होने के बाद से वहां के लोग भी महसूस कर रहे हैं कि स्थिति में सुधार आ रहा है। ऐसी स्थिति में आज के अखबार में आपने पढ़ा होगा कि अमृतसर के करीब स्टेट इलैक्ट्रीसिटी बोर्ड के एक सब-स्टेशन को लूट लिया गया। बैंकों को लूटा जा रहा है बीस लाख से अधिक की संपत्ति लूटी जा चुकी है। इतने लोग मारे जा चुके हैं। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि अगर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू न किया जाता तो क्या किया जाता, हमारी सरकार कैसे इस स्थिति से डील करती। अफसोस की बात है कि हमारे जो विरोधी दलों के लोग हैं देश बंटने के कगार पर खड़ा हुआ है, हिंसा हो रही है, लेकिन हमारे विरोधी दलों के लोग, जनता पार्टी के लोग, भारतीय जनता पार्टी के लोग, लोक-दल के लोग, इन्दिरा जी को ज्यादा बुरा कहेंगे (व्यवधान) अकालियों को भी बुरा कहेंगे लेकिन कम। बहुगुणा जी हैं, उनके भाषण सुनिये ऐसा लगेगा कि सब कुछ इंदिरा जी करा रही हैं, हमारी सरकार गलतियां कर रही हैं अन्यथा स्थिति बहुत अच्छी है। मैं कह रहा हूं कि इस समय पंजाब की स्थिति को ले कर के जो भी विरोधी दलों के लोग राजनीतिक स्वार्थ के वशीभूत हो कर इस तरह का अनर्गल प्रलाप करते हैं मैं उन्हें गद्दार की संज्ञा दूंगा। जिस समय देश का बंटवारा होने

[श्री पी० एन० सुकुल]

को है, जिस समय दो राष्ट्र थ्योरी की बात चल रही है उस समय इस तरह की बातें करना सरकार के हाथों को कमजोर करना, मैं समझता हूँ कि देश के हित में नहीं है। मैं तो जैसे जैसे कहा कि व्यक्तिगत रूप से इसे गहारी की संज्ञा देना चाहूंगा। सन् 1978 में शुरुआत हुई, किस का शासन था उस समय? जनता पार्टी का शासन था। उनके समय में यह आग लगी जो चल रही है। जनता पार्टी के शासन में आसाम की आग लगी थी। वे इस आग को बुझा नहीं पाए, कोई समाधान प्रस्तुत नहीं कर पाए लेकिन आज जब हमारी सरकार है और स्थिति अधिक गंभीर हो गई है और जब हम उस को सुटेवली डील करना चाहते हैं तो ये लोग तरह-तरह की अफवाहें फैला कर के तरह-तरह का प्रचार कर के लोगों में भ्रम पैदा करके अपना राजनीतिक उल्लू सीधा करना चाहते हैं। यही एक अत्यंत घृणित स्थिति है। जैसे मैं कह रहा था कि जो उग्रवादी तत्व हैं उन्होंने घोषणा की कि हम इनको मारेगें। आज हमारे चाहे अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जा हों, चाहे चौधरी चरण सिंह जा हों, चाहे बाबा साहब देवरस हों, चाहे श्री भजनलाल जो हों उन सब को उन्होंने निशाना बनाया का फैसला किया है और नतीजा क्या है कि एक बड़ी सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था इन सब लोगों के साथ चलती है। तो जहाँ पर मानव का जीवन खतरे में आ गया हो, मानव की संपत्ति खतरे में आ गई हो, जहाँ लोक-तन्त्र के लिए खतरा हो गया हो और धार्मिक अतृष्णता अपने उच्चतम शिखर पर आ गई हो वहाँ पर कड़ाई से शासन करने के इलावा कोई दूसरा रास्ता नहीं है और इसीलिए जो राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया है मैं उसका हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ। मेरा विश्वास है कि इस राष्ट्रपति शासन के फलस्वरूप

हमारे जो आज वहाँ के गवर्नर पांडे जी हैं वे जिस ईमानदारी, जिस तत्परता और निर्भयता के साथ स्थिति में जुझ रहे हैं उसको नियंत्रित करने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं उनकी जितनी भी सहायता की जाए वह कम है। उपसभापति महोदय, एक बहुत बड़ा मसला हमारे सामने यह है कि अगर ये अतिवादी लोग, उग्रवादी लोग, एक्सट्रीमिस्ट तत्व गुहद्वारों में आकर के छिप जाएं तो क्या किया जाए? कैसे उनको पकड़ा जाए? हमारा प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जहाँ भी बार-बार यह कहती हैं कि हम गुहद्वारों की पवित्रता को नष्ट नहीं करना चाहते, हमारी सरकार बार-बार यह कहती है लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि जहाँ तक ला एंड आर्डर का सवाल है, जस्टिस का सवाल है, न्याय का सवाल है, लोगों के जीवन का सवाल है, कब तक हम इन अपराधी तत्वों को जो गुहद्वारों में शरण लेते हैं रोकेंगे नहीं, पकड़ेंगे नहीं तब तक हम गुहद्वारों में नहीं घुसेंगे? मैं समझता हूँ कि जहाँ तक धर्म-निरपेक्ष हमारा राज्य है, धर्म-निरपेक्ष हमारा संविधान है ऐसे में गुहद्वारे हो, मंदिर हों, मस्जिद हों या गिरजाघर हो, सब बराबर हैं। एक ऐसा एटिड्यूड, दृष्टिकोण होना चाहिए, एक ऐसी कार्य-वाही होनी चाहिए कि अपराधी तत्वों को जो शरण दे, श्रीमान्, उन प्रत्येक स्थानों में पुलिस को जाना चाहिए और जाकर के अपराधी तत्वों को गिरफ्तार करना चाहिए। जो वह अपराधी तत्व हैं, आप उनकी गिरफ्तार नहीं कर रहे हैं, गुहद्वारे में नहीं घुस रहे हैं और वे लोग वहाँ से आग भड़का रहे हैं और भिड़र-वाला जो हैं, जहाँ भी उनकी मीटिंग होती है या उनके बयान हैं, आप गौर से पढ़ें, वे हिंसात्मक प्रवृत्ति उत्पन्न करने में लगे हुए हैं। कब तक आप ऐसे लोगों को नहीं पकड़ेंगे?



मैं अपनी सरकार से तथा गृह मंत्री महोदय से दखिस्त करूंगा कि जैसे भी हो, इन अपराधी तत्वों को जल्दी से जल्दी पकड़ने की कोशिश की जानी चाहिए, गिरफ्तार किया जाना चाहिए ताकि जो सार्वजनिक जीवन है, वह व्यवस्थित रूप से चल सके, लाएण्ड आर्डर कायम रह सके और यह जो हिंसा हो रही है, जो लोगों को मारा जा रहा है, जलाया जा रहा है, बैकों को लूटा जा रहा है, यह समाप्त हो सके।

At any cost, we have to contain these activities, and we cannot contain these activities if we cannot contain these offenders. If they are allowed to go scot free and roam about here and there, then, they can go on precipitating it and fomenting it.

इसलिए मेरा अपनी सरकार से यह अनुरोध है, यह सुझाव है कि ऐसे तमाम तत्वों को, जो आज अव्यवस्था देश में पैदा कर रहे हैं, उनको गिरफ्तार किया जाए और कड़ी से कड़ी सजा, जो हमारे कानून के तहत दी जा सके, उनको वह सजा मिलनी चाहिए। आज डर से बैठने का समय नहीं है। आज हम सोचें कि हम उनको कैसे पकड़ें।

हम देख चुके हैं कि पौने दो सौ आदमी आज तक हलाक हो चुके हैं, पांच सौ से ज्यादा आदमी आज तक घायल हो चुके हैं। हम इसे रोक नहीं पाये हैं और अब तो उनका निर्णय है कि केवल पंजाब में ही नहीं, अपितु दूसरे राज्यों में जाकर भी यही स्थिति पैदा करेंगे। दिल्ली में दो-दो सिनेमाघरों में बम फटे, नई दिल्ली स्टेशन पर बम फटा, आपके हरियाणा में एक जगह—यमुना नगर में हत्याकांड हुआ, कम्पूनल रायट उन्होंने करवाये। यदि आप उनको रोकते नहीं हैं, तो धीरे धीरे वह आसपास

के प्रदेश, जैसे उत्तर प्रदेश और दिल्ली है, उन सब जगहों में वे पहुंचेंगे और वही स्थिति वहां पर बरपा करेंगे।

इसलिए, उरतभाव्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इन थोड़े से शब्दों के साथ अपनी सरकार से अनुरोध करूंगा कि जैसे भी हो, इन तत्वों को रोकने का कोशिश की जाए, उनको कंटेन करने की कोशिश की जाए, और राष्ट्रपति शासन जो लागू किया गया है, इसे जैसे मैंने कहा कि पहले ही इसे लागू कर दिया जाना चाहिए था। अब जो राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया है, यह बहुत अच्छा है और मैं इसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Har-kishan Singh Surjeet.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE (Maharashtra): Should we not adjourn for lunch?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think, we can adjourn for lunch for some time. Mr. Surjeet, you can start after we reassemble.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET (Punjab): Yes. I think, it is better.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We can have a short lunch break.

सदन की कार्यवाही दो बजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-four minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after Lunch at three minutes past two of the clock. Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

SHRI HARIKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this is not a welcome thing that in a State where the Assembly is functioning President's

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rule has to be resorted to, but in this case nobody has condemned it because the situation had become such that perhaps it was thought that the Government would be able to tackle it by imposition of the President's rule. I would like to say, if we look back, this imposition of the President's rule itself is the result of certain policies pursued by the Government in connection with dealing with the situation in Punjab. If the Government had made serious efforts to have a solution in time, there would have been no necessity for imposition of the President's rule. Even now, I would say, if the Government banks upon dealing with the situation only through administrative measures, it is very much mistaken. There is some relief felt by the people but incidents continue to take place, killings, are there dacoities are there, robberies are there and the criminals are going scot-free. So, the imposition of the President's rule one should not think that they would be able to deal with the situation.

First of all, I would like to state about the situation that is prevailing today. Even today these incidents are taking place, same bank decoities, same killing of innocent people, same things are going on.

And communal division has taken place so much about which we had never heard earlier. Earlier also I have repeated here, it reminds us of the situation prevailing before 1947. I again want to say that although outwardly you do not feel because riots are not taking place, in reality the poisonous propaganda is being made in such a way that communal division is being very much hardened, the feelings are getting hardened. Can you imagine somebody, posing himself as a big leader, comes out and openly says: "If my bus is not returned, I would take the heads of 5000 Hindus"? And what confidence can you create among the people that you would protect them? What happens if all the criminals go scot free? That is why there is a fear complex in the population and they are very much afraid.

So far as economy is concerned industry and commerce are in very bad shape. They have suffered so much that nobody is prepared to invest capital there today. Whatever little industry was there, that also is suffering. So far as commerce is concerned, nobody is prepared to provide credit to them. This is the situation today.

The two incidents which took place last month have created a very bad situation and further worsened the situation. They have aroused the anger of the people. How can this happen in a country, in the State of Punjab where people unitedly fought for freedom, Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims, all shedding their blood against British imperialism for liberation of the country? If this can happen there, what would be the future of the country? One was the bus incident in which the extremists indulged in such heinous crime that they took out certain Hindus only to kill them, including children and women. Nobody was spared. The second was the incident of derailment of the train. These two incidents have aroused the anger of the people against those criminals who call themselves ex-remists, those who are indulging in these activities. I do not blame the Akali leadership for that because as soon as they came to know about these incidents, they denounced them and also when a hartal was called they immediately supported the hartal and participated in it. That is the position. You have to differentiate between the leadership of the Akali who do not indulge in these activities, who have denounced these activities and the extremists who are indulging and organising these activities, may be at the behest of some foreign power, may be Pakistan is also encouraging and all those things are there. But we have to see that still these extremists are allowed to have their way, they are allowed to create panic and it is they who are creating a situation which can be very dangerous for the country.

We have debated this question in this House many times. I would like to state that I do not want to spare the extremists

and also the Akali leadership's role in this respect, but I will primarily blame the Government for its mishandling, which has resulted in the imposition of President's rule, its hesitation, its vacillation, its indecisiveness to solve the problem.

I want to take you back as to why this situation has arisen. The Akalis presented their memorandum in the beginning of 1981. They waited for months together. There were 45 demands. We cannot agree to all these demands. We never agreed to their concept of Anandpur Resolution. So many other demands were there. Some grievances were there. They were all clubbed together. But on the basis of that memorandum, the Prime Minister started negotiations through emissaries, herself directly and they went on for months together. Not a single demand was found to be acceptable to the Government at that time. Even though the religious demands which were later on accepted, were part of those 45 demands. For eight months continuously it was thought that no demand could be accepted. The Akalis were prepared for much less at that time and, they were feeling that if the religious demands were accepted they were prepared to come to some understanding and agreement on that basis at that time.

Then we come to 1982. Afterwards it was said that nothing could be accepted; that was the answer. I am saying this because Akalis never gave up the path of negotiations. Extremists are different. You may not be differentiating between them or may be differentiating for some different purpose. I will come to that point later on. But I want to say that they were forced, ultimately when nothing was accepted, to agitate and they have been agitating. It is at that time that the extremists of Bhindranwale were carrying on their parallel activities. Bhindranwale was allowed to operate everywhere. He was giving extremist slogans. He was arrested and released and he was using all media and his religious propaganda to rouse passions and criminal feelings among the people. Some of his people were arrested. He started a morcha. It is after

that, when you did not accept any of the demands of the Akalis. And the attitude of the Government was most unreasonable. It was at that stage that the Akalis decided to launch a morcha. It was not for just one day. In July they started. Then August and September went by. But the Government did not bother. They came to understand that they have been able to rally the support of masses of people. And why? Because, they put down their demands concretely, reducing it from 45 to 10, clearly stating that six were religious demands and four were demands which were common to all the Punjabi people. It is at this stage that they were able to rally mass support and, on that basis, a lot of people got arrested and there was no place in the jails. At this stage the Government thought it fit to negotiate with them and the negotiations started through the emissary, Sardar Swaran Singh. Let the Government be frank—because they have to take the people into confidence—and say why it has been shifting its stand time and again. It was on 1st of November, after big efforts were made, that the Akalis were made to agree to certain proposals which the Cabinet Sub-Committee made, and a draft was prepared. On the 2nd the draft agreed upon was okayed by the Akalis. The only difference was that the Cabinet Sub-Committee wanted some time for discussions. That was a reasonable demand, a reasonable thing, to have some time for some discussions with the concerned States so that they also could be persuaded to agree to that. The Akalis agreed to this proposal. On the 2nd a statement was agreed upon which the Home Minister was to make here and on the 3rd November. But, unfortunately, when the statement came here, it was quite different from what was shown to the Akalis. This is the first stage.

Then, after that, again Akalis had no option. They announced that on 18th November they would announce further steps of the morcha. There was a difference of 15 days. Nobody bothered about it. I do not know how the Government functions, how the Administration functions. They had announced that on 18th they were going to launch a struggle. It

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happened on the 2nd. Between the 3rd and 18th there were fifteen days, two weeks' time. But nobody bothered. On 16th again, contact was established with them, only two days before they were to announce their struggle. On 17th or 18th some understanding was arrived at. They were ready to go and convey that. Agreement was again there and that agreement was to the satisfaction of all. I do not want to go into the details of the agreement because I still hope that some sense will prevail with the Government to make an effort to find a solution. Therefore, I do not want to go into the details of the matter. But, that was something which Haryana could have accepted, which Rajasthan could have accepted—the agreement of the 18th which I am referring to. But a sudden change was there on the Government side. Again nothing happened. Again some rift was there. They also did the foolish thing of announcing their Morcha before Asiad. But the counter thing which the Government did was also to be denounced. What was done in Haryana by Shri Bhajan Lal at that time, nobody in the country appreciated. May be some people thought that they had been able to control the situation. They created such a thing, something similar to what Bhindranwale was doing. Indeed much worse was done by Bhajan Lal by searching everybody. I know that at that time Judges of the High Court were searched, military officers were searched. Such an insulting attitude was taken at that time. Anyway, that is a different matter. I do not want to go into that.

After that, again the Cabinet Sub-Committee invited them for negotiations. They again welcomed the negotiations. What I am saying is that at no stage they refused negotiations. It is not that they had refused negotiations. At no stage did it happen. The Cabinet sub-committee again went into it; the negotiations broke. Then the Prime Minister on 21st January called a meeting with the Opposition parties to inform the Opposition that the negotiations had almost broken. This was the information she wanted to convey to the leaders of the

Opposition. Then we impressed upon her to convene a tripartite conference to see whether we can help in finding a solution. This was the situation. That was agreed to by the Government. In two days time a tripartite meeting was conveyed. Record is there. Home Minister is on record that the differences were very much narrowed down. It is on record that the Akalis attitude was not unreasonable. Then the differences remained only on two points. Many important points of differences we were able to resolve. The Prime Minister indicated that we could not accept the Anandpur Sahib resolution. People are very much confused about the Anandpur Sahib resolution. It is a very lengthy one. In this resolution they have talked about the demands of working class and against monopolies and so many things. But there is one part. The introductory part where they talk about the supremacy of the Sikhs, to which no one could agree. The Prime Minister was rightly concerned about it. We also told her that we are also agreeable on this point. And we told the Akalis that in a secular India they could not put forth such a demand. At the end of the tripartite meeting the Akalis had to agree not to press for the inclusion of Anandpur Sahib resolution—the introductory part of it.

Then the second important point at that time that we wanted to bring into discussion was the waters dispute. It was settled in the 1955 agreement what the share of the Rajasthan has to be. We persuaded them saying: No; we are not talking about the legality of the matter. We are only talking about the moral position rather political and moral positions. In 1955 the agreement was arrived at; and on the basis of that, Rajasthan had spent something like Rs. 600 crores. Now if you today raise this question, it is unjustified. This also we were able to bring home to them. The difference remained only on one point; the talks broke on one point, one irrelevant point. And that point was: what would happen till the tribunal took the decision? They were demanding that the existing arrangements should continue. And the Government was insisting that the award given by the Prime Minister, or the set-

tlement arrived at that time, should continue. I appealed to both sides saying that there is no difference in that, because till a new canal is dug, no water can be utilized by Haryana. So whether you agree to their proposition or they agree to your position, it means the same thing. The Government came to the conclusion after a month and said: Yes. Now we are agreeable. This is the minor point on which the talks broke on that day; otherwise, some settlement would have been arrived at, if only a serious thought had been given as to what the impact would be. So, this is what happened in the tripartite talks. Then, after the tripartite talks again deadlock was there. No effort was made to clinch those issues. Two issues remained. Others were clinched. One of this the Government was able to solve. The other one was territorial one. Then the opposition parties made efforts. It is very unfortunate that the Government, even on such questions, does not appreciate the efforts being made by the opposition to help to find a solution. They would like to blame the opposition any time, any moment. So, what happened was, that in April again some efforts was made I do not want to go into that. Some effort was made. And I am able to say that so far as the Cabinet Committee was concerned, because I was also involved in that, an agreement was arrived at. A draft was prepared. I do not know how suddenly they changed their mind. I do not want to go into that also. I do not want to go into the details because I still hope that the Government might do something to save the State of Punjab. It is bound to have repercussions on the whole country. We are not discussing this matter with a view to utilise it and nobody can, utilise this matter against another party. I may tell you that you can only utilise it to disrupt the unity of the country. Any party which tries to utilise this question of Punjab issue for partisan ends, will be playing a role which will be suicidal for the future of the country.

What happened in between? Here I want to blame the Government. At that time, perhaps, the Government thought that it was not proper to come to an

understanding with the Akali leadership because the Press had boosted a new man, an emerging leader famous Bhindranwale who was earlier put before the people and supported by the ruling party. I am saying it because in two elections he was the main campaigner. This is how secularism is preached. In the elections he was the main campaigner. But, anyhow, the Government came to the conclusion, perhaps, that there was no use of talking to the Akali leaders, but it was necessary to come to an understanding with that man. And perhaps, they thought that on the basis of an agreement on the religious demands, they might be able to teach a lesson to the Akali leadership. Then, suddenly, without the knowledge of the State Government also, one day, Mr. Bhinder was sent from here to Punjab as the police official in-charge. What did he do? He was sent—I specifically say with authority and want to bring the facts before you—to make up with Mr. Bhindranwale, because the understanding that was there was that without making up with him, without involving him, no settlement would be possible. This was the result of Press propaganda, and the Government is also carried away with it. Some agents also were used for this purpose.

I know there is a person who is in prison now. He was for six months at his Headquarters in the Punjab Bhavan, Mr. Balbir Singh. He was advocating for 'Khalistan', and he was given room No. 17 in the Punjab Bhavan. The Bill came to Rs. 12,000. He was in contact with Mr. Bhindranwale and also with the Punjab Chief Minister and bureaucracy I do not know. Now he is in prison. He was put in Jail because in Punjab the common feeling is because of traditional national movement that only these patriots were going there. He was supposed to be a sacrificing man, extremist or whatever he is. So, this has happened. Then Bhinder made statements and I asked about it in the Consultative Committee of the Home Ministry, the Home Minister informed that he has denied it. He had made two statements after going there: One there is no criminal hiding in the gurudwaras.

[Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet]

Two, there are no arms in the Gurdwaras. To please whom? And a day before that the Chief Minister had said that criminals were being harboured and we were also saying that Gurdwaras should not be made a place to harbour criminals. These are the two statements made by him. Did the Home Ministry check up? Why should they check up? It was a planned thing. They were made with a purpose, to have a rapprochement. I may tell you, that poor man, the DIG died because some effort was made, some military officer was sent from here, an intelligence officer was sent to make up with Mr. Bhindranwale and at that time, he was shot dead before the Gurdwara. This has happened. But that also, I may tell you, did not work because by now, although created by the ruling party, his head got swollen. He feels himself big. The foreign press comes and interviews him. If you read his interviews, no sane man can understand or appreciate it. (*Interruption*) Tapes are being sent to villages to poison the minds of the people. Tapes are being sent to the foreign press, the BBC and so on. In an interview, he openly says about the Jagat Narain murder—I have read it:

“अगर अस्सी साल दा बुद्धा मर गया तो सारा जहान रोण लग गया। इन्न मेरे सिख मर गये कोई चिंता ही नहीं करदा”

It is like that. Somebody, some 80-year old man has died. This type of hatred he has got. Somebody questioned him: “Did you say that if your bus was not returned, you will take the heads of 5,000 Hindus?” He said, “Yes, I said it.” This interview is printed. So that type of person is there. So, that failed because he has also taken it to his head—“I am a big leader; without me nothing can be done.” And it is he who is encouraging all these extremists, whether they belong to him ..... (*Time bell rings*) I will take a little more—10 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have given you more than 15 minutes.

डा० सरूप सिंह (हरियाणा) : आप किसी और का टाइम काट लीजिए, इनको बोलन दीजिए।

श्री उपसभापति : जब आपको कहेंगे तो आप नहीं मानेंगे। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि ....

डा० सरूप सिंह : मैं तो इंकार नहीं करता।

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: All right, I will try to complete it soon. I am not looking at this Punjab matter from any partisan angle, I may tell you. I am prepared for any sacrifice, anything, which will bring a solution of the Punjab problem. So, after that, this has happened.

Then again the Opposition on June 30 came to help the Government, saying: Yes, you find some solution; some settlement should be there; some area may be given to Haryana; some compensation may be given to them for a new Capital. This is the only thing which remains. Now that also is taken up differently by the Government. The Government's reaction is quite different; it says, the Opposition is trying to utilise the situation. This is what happened earlier also.

Now this has repercussions in other States. In Haryana naturally feelings are aroused. And in other States also, look at the way things are being handled. I was going last month to Kanpur. I got down from the train at the railway station and I wanted to go to the rest-room. And there the police follows, four or five of them, seeing my beard and hair, followed me and said: “We want to search your case.” I said “Why?” They said, “No, no, it is a general scrutiny.” I said, “What general scrutiny? You have not followed anybody also. Since I got down from the train, I have not seen you following anybody else except a person with a beard and hair.” What atmosphere will it create? What poisonous propaganda will it create? When I showed

him my card, he said," "Sorry, Sir, it was a general thing." I wrote a letter to the Prime Minister. Till now I have not got a reply. If the tactics of Bhajan Lal are applied in the rest of the States, you will propagate the idea much more than what plea extremists are doing in Punjab. I condemn them and I condemn this attitude also which can be very harmful to the national unity of the country, for which we have made a lot of sacrifice.

Now we have been trying to persuade the Akalis. They met the Opposition parties here. They came here on the 22nd. We told them frankly, yes, you have to denounce the actions of the extremists, but that is not sufficient. You have to come out categorically and invoke the same authority of Akal Takht that anybody who kills Hindus or persons of any other community is not a Sikh. You have to come out openly with this. Then you can create confidence among the people of Punjab. We told them frankly. Otherwise, you don't get the support of the democratic masses. What the Government does, we do not know. We have burnt boats many times, not once—this solution, that solution—without knowing what impact it is going to create. That is why the Opposition is making its efforts. What happened in the Home Ministry Consultative Committee on 24th? What happened? The record must be placed before Parliament. What happened on that day? When we took up the issue their attitude was very reasonable. The statement made by the Home Minister in that meeting was, "Yes, the differences have narrowed down, and what we have said up to now is not the last word..."—these are the actual words—"we are prepared to talk and we will write to them a letter tomorrow...". But there was one slip—may be, a political slip—and that slip was he said, "We have kept the Assembly in animated suspension; we are even prepared to have a coalition with them share power with them." I immediately told the Home Secretary and the Home Minister, "You have committed a serious mistake." I asked them immediately to contact their PRO and tell him that this news should not be given out. Vajpayeeji had left at that time. The news had reached the people, the news had gone

out by the time those leaders reached there. They were going to Amritsar. They said they will be beaten. Even if you want a coalition, I don't mind. But this is not the time to have a coalition when the movement is going on. It takes time to bring them to your view. In the background of this movement and what is happening, you will not be able to bring them down. I am not opposed to anything. If your attempt is a constructive one and is sure to bring the situation to normal, it will be supported by my party. Now I want to say that this has happened. Whatever little effort we have made to bring them to agreement, that has been stopped. The next day what happened? A different statement was made by the Home Minister. The tone changed completely. Is it the way to deal with this type of a situation, with such a crucial situation? If some lapse has occurred, you swallow it; take time to correct it in a different way without creating noise. No. The next day your tone was firm. Two days after when the Prime Minister went to Chandigarh, there again the same firm attitude; quite different; the tone changed. What should be done in that situation? I would like the Government to ake up its mind. Naturally there also there are some extremists pressures. How many times have you shifted your position? It is one thing you have not consulted us. But what I want to say finally is that the situation in Punjab is very bad. There are two lines. First you decide what line you want to proceed with. What we have been suggesting is, you isolate the extremists; fight them out; otherwise you won't be able to create confidence among the people. If you make up with Bhindranwale, it will be suicidal; you will lose all the support of the Hindus and minorities in Punjab. One line is isolate them, accept the genuine demands, argue with them, get the help of the Opposition, settle it and create confidence among the people of Punjab. This is one line. The second line is to make up with him and try to involve him and if you do this it will be a disaster. Now, finally, I want to say that Punjab is not a State as other States are. Punjab is a border State. You have yourself been saying that American imperialism is encircling India from various quarters. You have yourself been saying

[Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet]

that Pakistan is being armed by America. You have been saying that Pakistan is taking interest in this Punjab problem. Why should they not? Already sophisticated arms are being used by these fellows. The border is an open border. You cannot stop smuggling. You cannot stop entry of persons also. But why do you blame them for that? If you are working out a formula under which extremists are being encouraged, only forces of separatism will flourish there. A few days back our Party came out openly when Talwandi spoke of parallel Government. Our Party said that such separatist movements should be condemned. Such separatist activities will get encouraged if you delay matters. If you delay further, there will be further troubles and if you think that the President's rule will work there it will not. Whatever little control the leadership is having now will be lost and things will go into the hands of extremists. I feel concerned about it. I do feel that it is bound to have repercussions. In Punjab things are not so easy. I do not want to discuss other Ordinances now. When they come up, we will discuss them. But I would say that it is better not to involve Army in this problem. It will be dangerous. Apart from the administrative measures which you are taking, it is very necessary to take some political measures. First of all you make up your mind. If you delay, movements of separatism will grow and then there will be communal divisions. If that happens, it will be disastrous for the country. It will have repercussions in the whole country. This will be very bad for the unity of the country. We are facing all these problems there and the Government should give them top priority after making up their mind. Do not think of Congress Party or other Parties coming to power. It is not a question of Parties. The question is the future of our country. Kindly consider this problem from that angle. Any narrow feeling based on this combination or that combination will not work there. Only a broad solution based on broad principles will work. I would, therefore, appeal to the Government to see reason and find out a solution because administrative measures or the President's rule alone is not going to solve the prob-

lem. You have to take some political measures. With these words, I conclude.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before we proceed further, I would like to inform the hon. Members that they should conclude this discussion by five. The Home Minister will reply tomorrow.

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम (मध्य प्रदेश) : श्रीमान्, मैं एक ज्वालामुखी पर खड़ी हुई समस्या पर आपसे बहस करने के लिये जा रहा हूँ। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि किसी जमाने में वचपन में हम लोगों को, जब हम अपनी मनमानी करने लगते थे, तो मां किसी भूत का, किसी प्रेत का या किसी चीज का हौच्चा दिखा करके खामोश करने की कोशिश करती थी, बन्द करने की कोशिश करती थी।

गृह मंत्री जी, शायद आपने इस सारे देश को किसी नानी का जच्चाखाना बना रखा है, जब चाहें जिसको जिस तरीके से डराते रहो, चलाते रहो। मैंने पहले भी, जब पंजाब पर बहस हुई थी, तो कहा था—आप में से किसी ने नहीं कहा था, हमने खुद अपनी तरफ से जब कोई नहीं मिला था, तो जाकर उनके नेताओं से मिले थे और जब एक समाजवादी के नाते, एक प्रजातांत्रिक व्यवस्था में विश्वास रखने वाले आदमी के नाते यह अपना मन बना चुके थे कि यह मेरी शंकाएँ हैं, जो पहले अकाली दल को देनी हैं।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री आर० आर० मोरारका) पीठासीन हुए]

बल्कि जब हम लोगों ने बातचीत शुरू की, तो मेरे पास उसका टेप है—अगर आप चाहेंगे, तो मैं वह दे सकता हूँ। तो उन लोगों की जैसी कि आदत है, वह समझते थे कि हर आदमी जो आता



है, तो वह उनकी दाढ़ियों में हाथ डालने के लिये आता होगा, वह समझे कि उनके ऊपर जैसे कि हमने कोई गुनाह किया है—तो हमने कहा कि आपने गुनाह किया है, क्योंकि आपने अभी तक अपना चेहरा साफ नहीं किया है और हम ऐसे लोगों को भी मुसीबत होती है किसी चीज को समझने और कहने में—पर खालिस्तान के मामले पर उनका दिमाग बिल्कुल साफ है और लम्बी क्या बातें हुई हैं उनकी और आपका ध्यान नहीं दिलाना चाहता। मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि लफ्ज-ब-लफ्ज जो बात हुई वह हमने आज के घर मंत्री जी को उनके बंगले पर कहा, जो हमारी जात के खिलाफ है, हम किसी मंत्री के घर जाते नहीं, देश का मामला था इसलिये कहा। उन्होंने कहा यह फार्मूला तो हो सकता है, बड़ा अच्छा है, बड़ी आसानी से हो सकता है। उन्होंने सुझाव दिया कि आप प्रधान मंत्री से मिलिये। मैंने कहा क्यों मिलूँ। पता नहीं प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कितनी करवटें और पलटें खाई हैं। घर मंत्री जी और कुछ न करिये तो 14 तारीख के 'इंडियन एक्सप्रेस' के मुख पृष्ठ पर पूरी कहानी छपी है धारावाहिक तरीके से जो घटनाक्रम है छपा है, अगर वह गलत है तो उसका दो लाइन का प्रतिवाद कराइये कि जो यह घटनाएं लिखी हैं वह गलत हैं।

अब मैं एक ही चीज पर आता हूँ। मुझे ऐसा लगता है, आप को कहने के लिये मजबूर होना पड़ता है कि सारी समस्या आप ने बना कर रखी है। आप की जो नीयत है वह साफ है। अभी कुछ ही दिन पहले जब घर मंत्री आप अपनी सलाहकार समिति में बैठे थे तब आप के मुँह से प्रश्नोत्तर के समय यह बात निकल गयी कि हम उन लोगों के साथ

सत्ता के बारे में साझेदारी करने को तैयार हैं। मतलब बिल्कुल साफ है, आप इतना ही चाहते थे कि अगर एक मर्तबा अकाली हमारे साथ सत्ता की हिस्सेदारी के लिये तैयार हो जायें जैसे विगत में विरोधियों के साथ ही हो गये थे तब तो आप के लिये ठीक है। मुझे इससे कोई लेना-देना नहीं है, आप किस तरीके से अपनी नीयत बताते हैं उससे मुझे मतलब नहीं लेकिन देश को क्या खतरा है, देश को क्या नुकसान पहुंचा रहे हैं वह आप से कहना है। अभी परसों एक चर्चा और चल पड़ी। कोई छोटे-मोटे आदमी ने नहीं, आप के दल के एक सूबे के वजीर ने और वह भी मुख्य वजीर ने कहा है, भजन लाल ने। भजनलाल आप जानते हैं कितना पढ़े हैं, मुझे पता नहीं, लेकिन वह किस की बात बोलते हैं जब वह आदमी कहता है इस मामले पर रिफरेंडम करा लेना चाहिए। आप जरा सोचिये कितनी खतरनाक बात होती है कोई कहे कि रिफरेंडम करा लेना चाहिए। और वह बात आप के दिमाग में आने लगी है तो मुझे यह लग रहा है, अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बहुत दुखी मन से कह रहा हूँ कि इस सरकार का दिमाग इतना सड़ गया है कि पंजाब के मामले पर रिफरेंडम की बात कह सकती है, कल वह, सम्भवतः यही बात काश्मीर के बारे में कहेगी। कहां से कहां ले जा रहे हो देश को? क्यों नहीं देश के सामने पूरा व्हाइट पेपर रखो, बताओ क्या-क्या मुद्दे हैं। मैं कहने के लिये तैयार हूँ—छोड़िये अकालियों को एक तरफ—क्या यह हिम्मत है आप में कि अकालियों को छोड़कर जितने विरोधी दल हैं उनके साथ आप बैठें, सरकार और विरोधी दल ही एक राय के हो जायें। हर मामले पर आप कह देते हो कि राष्ट्रीय समस्या है। रोज भाषण

## [श्री लाडलो मोहन निगम]

दिये जाते हैं ऊंची अट्टालिकाओं से, कोई दिन नहीं जाता जब हिन्दुस्तान का गन्दे से गन्दा आदमी यह नहीं चाहता कि देश खतरे में है, देश टूट रहा है। कौन तोड़ रहा है? विदेशी तोड़ रहे हैं, विरोधी तोड़ रहे हैं। कौन हैं ये विदेशी, कौन हैं ये विरोधी। हम बैठ कर हल निकालने को तैयार हैं, मानोगे? साफ है कि अकाली दल, विरोधी पार्टियाँ और आप साथ बैठें। आप अपना मन बताइये। जब अपने मन की बात होती है तब आप चले जाओगे बंगला साहब गुरुद्वारा और अपने मन से जो चाहे घोषणा कर दोगे, त्रिपक्षी वार्ता चलओगे और घोषणा एक पक्षीय कर दोगे। करो, लेकिन उस के इतने खतरनाक पहलू निकले हैं कभी सोचा है। जिन आकाशों से आजादी मिली है अगर उनके बताये हुये रास्ते पर लोगों को बांट कर गद्दी पर रहना है तो मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह से मुल्क को बांट कर कुछ दिन गद्दी पर बैठोगे लेकिन इतना याद रखना कि आप कितना खतरनाक खेल खेल रहे हो। हिन्दुस्तान की मिट्टी ऐसी पिलपिली है कि इस ने हमेशा अपने मीरजाफर और जयचन्द को माफ किया है। मैं क्या कहूँ, कौन सा लफ्ज इस्तेमाल करूँ, बहुत दुखी मन से कह रहा हूँ, कहां ले जाना चाहते हो। क्या घटनाएँ हुईं, किन इशूज पर रुक गया था मामला। पानी वाले मामले पर वह तैयार हैं, आप एक बोर्ड बना दीजिए। एक सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज को दे दिया जाए। और सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज की बात मैं इसलिये कबूल करता हूँ कि उसके बाद किसी फरीकैन को उस से बड़ी अदालत का दरवाजा नहीं खटखटाना पड़ेगा। क्या मैं आप की नीयत पर शक नहीं कर सकता कि आपने इस मामले को

उठाया है। पहले यह कोर्ट में पड़ा हुआ था। पंजाब और हरियाणा में आप की सरकार थी और दोनों जगह आप के ही मुख्य मंत्री थे। दोनों सरकारें बैठी थीं। लेकिन चूँकि हरियाणा का चुनाव जीतना है इसलिए मुकदमा वापस ले लिया। आप ही विल्ली से कह रहे हैं कि वह दूध की रखवाली करे। तो दे दिया फैंसला विल्ली ने। इसलिए मैं ऐसा मान कर चलता हूँ कि अगर आप से यह मामला नहीं निपटता तो देश की सर्वोच्च अदालत को यह मामला दे दो दो इलाकों का कैसे निर्धारण होगा इस के लिए कायदे कानून हैं। राज्यों के पुनर्गठन के समय में नियम बन चुके हैं। उस के बाद भी अगर दो चार गांव का मामला उठ खड़ा हो तो उसे बाद में देख लिया जायेगा। चन्डीगढ़ के मामले में मुझे नहीं लगता कि कोई बड़ा मामला है। क्योंकि आप को देखना है कि चन्डीगढ़ बना क्यों था। चन्डीगढ़ का तो पंजाब की राजधानी के लिए ही बनाया गया था क्योंकि लाहौर तो पाकिस्तान में चला गया था और अगर आप आज पंजाब और हरियाणा का बंटवारा करते हो तो मुझ जैसे आदमी को यह कहने में जरा भी गुरेज नहीं, मैं तो खुले आम कहता हूँ कि चन्डीगढ़ पंजाब को जाना चाहिए। वह उसका है। अगर आप ने उसके बाद नया राज्य बनाया है तो उस को नयी राजधानी दो और उसके लिये एक ही तरीका हो सकता है कि अगर उस जमाने में 20 करोड़ रुपया देने की बात की गयी थी तो आज क बाजार के भाव से उस के बराबर जितना पैसा बनता हो उतना पैसा राजधानी बनाने के लिये दे दो और उसे दस वर्ष की अवधि दे दो और जब तक उन की राजधानी नहीं बनती उस

समय तक हरियाणा के लोगों को जैसे आज उन के कुछ हिस्से चन्डीगढ़ में हैं वह उन के पास रहने की छूट दे दो। लेकिन किसी मामले को न सुलझाना भी तो राजनीति है और यही चाणक्य आप को सिखा गया है। मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि आप का इरादा नहीं है मामला सुलझाने का। अब बताया जाता है कि आप ने अध्यादेश निकाल दिया और यह भी एक अजीब चीज है कि आप ने अध्यादेश निकाल दिया और वहां असेम्बली चल रही है। असेम्बली बैठी है। आप का वहां बहुमत है इस लिये वहां भत्ता खाते रहें। जहां आप का बहुमत नहीं होता वहां की असेम्बली आप खत्म कर देते हो। पांडिचेरी में आप ने असेम्बली को खत्म कर दिया। उसे आप ने मैनीपुलेंट कर लिया। आज भी अखबारों में सुर्खी में सारा दिया हुआ है और उसके लिये हम को यहां डेढ़ घंटे का समय लगाना पड़ा। जो कुछ आप कर्नाटक में करने जा रहे हैं उस के लिये। उसमें क्या करना है। आर्डिनेंस की बात कही गयी। तो आप को ताज्जुब होगा कि यह सरकार इतनी निकम्मी हो गयी है और इसमें कुछ हम लोगों का भी दोष है, लेकिन अब तक हमें पता नहीं था कि देश की सरकारें आर्डिनेंस से कैसे चलती हैं। कौशल जी हमारे सामने बैठे हैं। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बता दूं कि यह बिहार के गवर्नर भी थे और उस समय उन्होंने एक दिन में 36 आर्डिनेंस साइन किये हैं। अगर वह उनको पढ़ते भी तो काफी समय लग जाता। 56 का तो रेकार्ड है। 159 आर्डिनेंस अपनी गवर्नरी के दौरान उन्होंने निकाले हैं और अब चाहते हैं कि उन से ही पंजाब की समस्या हल कर लें। वह कैसे हल होगी। जनता पार्टी वाले भी इसमें दोषी हैं। हमने भी 172 आर्डिनेंस

निकाले थे। तो आखिर यहां आर्डिनेंस चलाना है या असेम्बली चलाना है या पार्लियामेंट चलाना है। यह देश क्या किसी घर की जागीर है या किसी खानदान पर गिरवी है। क्या चाहते हैं आप? हम लोग अगर पीछे जायें तो मुकदमा चलना चाहिए चार पांच आदमियों पर। एक तो मुकदमा चलना चाहिए दरबारा सिंह पर और उसका नाम होना चाहिए दरबारा सिंह बनाम जेल सिंह। दूसरा मुकदमा चलना चाहिए दरबारा सिंह बनाम स्वर्ण सिंह। स्वर्ण सिंह ने मामला तय कर दिया था। आज अखबार में छपा है, टेलीफोन पर बातचीत हो चुकी थी, उन को कह दिया गया था कि यह फैसला हो चुका है। तीसरा मुकदमा चलना चाहिए जेल सिंह बनाम भिडरवाला। कितने फरीक हैं। कोई ढुंढ़ने की जरूरत नहीं। मुश्किल से मुल्क में 6 या 7 लोग हैं जिनको अगर आप जेल में बंद कर दें, इमरजेंसी न लगायें तो कल ही पंजाब की समस्या हल हो जाएगी। यह कुल 6 या 7 आदमी हैं। अपने तात्कालिक राजनीतिक लाभ के लिए सरकार सीमाओं को टालती रही है। इसलिये मेरी घर मंत्री जी से हाथ जोड़ कर विनती है कि अपनी नीयत साफ करें। हमारे सुरजीत जी भूल चुके हैं, हम अभी गये थे सीमाओं पर, लेकिन मुझे डर हो रहा है कि आपकी नीयत साफ नहीं है। इसके पीछे एक बड़ा खतरा है। आप चाहते हो कि पंजाब की सीमा में कहीं गोली चल जाए, मुझे यह भी डर है कि हो सकता है कि इसी महीने या अगले महीने सीमा पर कहीं गोली चलकर आप कहोगे कि पाकिस्तान ने हमला किया है। ... (व्यवधान)

आप हमेशा मिली-जुली कुश्ती पाकिस्तान से लड़ते रहे हो। मुझे खतरा

[श्री लाडली मोहन निगम]

कि कल सीमा पर गोली चल सकती है, फिर कहोगे देश संकट में है तो सारे लोग एक हो जाओ। आप एक तरफ जिन लोगों से बात करने के लिये तैयार नहीं है, सत्ता में उसी के साथ भागीदार होने के लिये तैयार हैं। बातचीत नजदीक आ जाती है तो विरोधियों को अलग करके अकालियों और सरकार की बात होने लगती है। अकाली और सरकार के बीच बातचीत टूट जाती है तो विरोधियों के साथ बात करने लगते हो। मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार कोई मुजरे की महिला नहीं है कि जब चाहो, जिसके सामने जैसे नाचो।

**श्रीमती उषा मल्होत्रा** (हिमाचल प्रदेश) : इससे बेटर ऐक्जाम्पुल नहीं है इनके पास ? आपके सोचने का स्तर कहां रह गया ? ... (व्यवधान)

**श्री लाडली मोहन निगम** : हो सकता है उषा जी, मेरा जितना दिमाग है उतना ही सोच पाऊँ। ... (व्यवधान)

**श्रीमती उषा मल्होत्रा** : आप लोग इज्जत नहीं करते महिलाओं की तो...

**श्री लाडली मोहन निगम** : चलिए, मैं आपकी बात मान लेता हूँ। इनको मान लो जो लोग ताली बजाकर नाचा करते हैं वह हैं क्या ? यह सरकार वही है ? आज घर मंत्री जी आप अपनी नीयत बताइये। अकाली समस्या पर आपका क्या विचार है ? धार्मिक मामलों में आपने खुद घोषणा कर दी। यदि आप इस समस्या का हल गोली से नहीं करना चाहते तो मत करिये लेकिन आप घोषणा कर दीं कि यह सरकार का मन है हर इश्यु के मामले में। सरकार इसके

बाद एक इंच इधर या उधर नहीं होगी। तब तो लगेगा कि सरकार है। वरना हमको सरकार पर शक करने का अधिकार है। जहां धर्म या मजहब जुड़ा हुआ है वही आप चले जावोगे और धर्म धर्म की आड़ लेकर, जैसे सरोपा बनाकर भेंट कर दिया। पता नहीं महिलाएं पिंड दान करती हैं या नहीं लेकिन बाकी सब कुछ कर दिया जाता है। तुम्हारे लिये हो तो मजहब की आड़ लो, जब दूसरा आदमी कोई मजहब की बात करता है तो बुरा लगता है। यह खेल मत खेलिये।

इसलिये मैं आप से निवेदन करूंगा कि सरकार पंजाब की समस्या पर एक श्वेत-पत्र निकाले। पंजाब के बारे में सरकार एक हफ्ते की सीमा बांध दे कि एक हफ्ते के अन्दर समझौता नहीं होता तो कह दें कि पंजाब की समस्या के बारे में सरकार की यह राय है। उससे हम न एक इंच इधर हैं, न उधर हैं। तीसरी बात यह है कि बातचीत अगर करना चाहते हैं तो आज ही घोषणा कर दो, आज ही ऐलान तारीख का कर दो कि कब आप अकालियों से बातचीत शुरू करेंगे बिना शर्त के। एक बंधन में लगाना चाहता हूँ कि एक कमरे में बन्द हो जाइये और उसके बाद फैसला करिये।

**श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर** (उत्तर प्रदेश) : और चाबी खोजिए।

**श्री लाडली मोहन निगम** : यह बात सही है लेकिन मैं इनकी बात नहीं मानूंगा। मैं इनकी चाबी वाली बात नहीं मान रहा हूँ क्योंकि उसमें महिलाएं भी होंगी। लेकिन यह बात सही है कि जब तक कमरे में बन्द रहेंगे तब तक बातचीत चलती रहे। इसके लिये एक समयबद्ध प्रोग्राम बना लीजिए कि जब तक इस मामले का हल नहीं निकलेगा तब तक हम बाहर नहीं निकलेंगे। मैं

आपको वादा करता हूँ अपने दल की तरफ से । देश भी आपके साथ खड़ा होगा । शर्त यह है कि आप अपना मन बना लीजिए । अपने मन को बताइये, हम लोगों को बताइये, विरोधी को बताइये, देश को बताइये कि आप क्या चाहते हैं । खाली हवा में बात करने से कुछ नहीं बनेगा । इसलिये मैं बहुत विनम्रता से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि घर मंत्री जी से आप मेहरबानी करके आप इन तीनों चीजों को इसी सत्र में मान लीजिए । पहला यह है कि पंजाब पर एक श्वेत-पत्र दीजिए ताकि देश को पता चल सके कि क्या क्या अब तक हो चुका है । दूसरे अकालियों की कितनी मांगें आपने मानी हैं और कितनी उनकी मांगें आप नहीं मान रहे हैं । जो नहीं मान रहे हैं वह क्यों नहीं मान रहे हैं । मैं यह जरूर चाहता हूँ कि किसी राज्य का हनन नहीं होना चाहिए । पानी के बटवारे के मामले में आपकी राय होना जरूरी है, सुप्रीम कोर्ट में इसे जाना है या नहीं ? चंडीगढ़ का मामला भी साफ होना चाहिए । आज आपको घोषणा करनी चाहिए कि इस महीने के खत्म होते-होते पंजाब की समस्या का निराकरण निकाल देंगे । उसमें कौन-कौन होंगे यह आप जानें । आप होंगे और अकाली दल के लोग होंगे या आप, अकाली दल और हम होंगे इसमें हमें कोई मतलब नहीं । इसका आपको फैसला करना है । हम तो यह चाहते हैं कि इस माह के अन्त तक हर हालत में इस अकाली समस्या को समाप्त करना है । अकाली के लोंगोवाल साहब को बुलाना है और किस को बुलाना है यह

आपको देखना है । लोंगोवाल साहब से जब मुलाकात हुई तो उन्होंने मुझ से पूछा कि आप भिडरवाला साहब से नहीं मिलेंगे ? मैंने कहा वह कौन होते हैं । हमने उनसे कहा कि अगर वह अकाली दल के मेम्बर हैं तो बुला लीजिए । चार मंजिल चढ़ कर मैं किसी को नहीं बुलाता । मैं आप से सच कहता हूँ कि वह मेरा हाथ पकड़ कर एक तरफ ले गये और कहा कि आप ही एक ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं जिसने कहा कि मैं उनसे क्यों मिलूँ । मैं जानता हूँ कहां से चलती है उनकी राजनीति । मैं यह भी जानता हूँ कि वह स्वर्ण मन्दिर के गुम्बद से नहीं चलती, कोई और बड़ा गुम्बद है जहां से उनकी राजनीति चल रही है । मैंने कहा अगर वह आपके साथ हैं तो उसको बुला लीजिए, बातचीत कर लेंगे । जब बातचीत होगी तो कोई न कोई हल निकलेगा । आप, अकाली और विरोधी दल तीनों साथ बैठ जाइये । अगर हम लोगों को नहीं चाहते तो आप और अकाली दोनों बैठ कर हल निकाल लीजिए । इसी विश्वास के साथ मैं अन्त में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर मेरी बात किसी को बुरी लगी होगी तो उसके लिये माफी चाहूंगा । मैं सिर्फ भरे हुए मन से कह रहा था । यह नकली सांप है । यह कब तक नकली सांप देश को डरायेगा, खुद को डरायेगा । हो सकता है कल यह नकली सांप असली साँप बन जाए । इसलिये आपसे कहता हूँ कि इसका आप जल्दी से जल्दी हल निकालिये । आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया इसके लिये मैं आप का बहुत शुक्रगुजार हूँ ।

3 P. M.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by the hon. Home Minister. And when I rise this evening, I have an assurance and the confidence

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that an overwhelming majority of the citizens of this country, coming from all parts of our great country, are in agreement with me in supporting the Resolution. It is a spectacle which is difficult to find previously. The Government has dismissed its own Ministry and installed the Presidential rule. Why? Because, according to the opposition, we failed to negotiate with the Akalis. Is that the correct picture of the situation at all? One should go to Bombay, one should go to Ahmedabad or one should move about a little in Delhi to find out the concern and anxiety of the common man over the situation which was developing in Punjab. Initially, they had a hit list, marked-men, police officials, Government officials, revenue officials, each one to be picked and killed. When young men went and said that they want to serve the cause of the Akalis they would be told, all right, you want to serve the cause of the Akalis, go and shoot a Nirankari, go and shoot a Government official, you come back and you have served the cause. Then the things became even more difficult. It was no longer a hit list. It became killings any innocent person for no rhyme or reason. It came to the end of democracy. It came to the end of the rule of law. And, I think, only an important Government—I am sorry that my friend, Mr. Ladli Mohan Nigam has left—could have tolerated the situation. I think his illustration was as inept as it could be. Because I think everybody in the country, by and large, is convinced that the Prime Minister means business. Everybody is convinced that the problem of Punjab cannot be solved unless we put an end to the terrorist activities of these extremists. And, whatever sacrifice we may have to do, we shall do it. Because above all, we are concerned with the unity and integrity of our country. We shall not surrender it. Even if the Congress has to lose elections in all the States, we will face this problem fairly and squarely. Therefore please do not try to confuse the issues.

We are today talking about support to the Proclamation and I want this House to rise as one man on an issue which is national, on an issue which may ultimately threaten the very existence of our country and its independence, and support this

Resolution, because it has not been brought about to serve any political end, because it has not been brought about to serve any partisan end. It is really pathetic to find what the hon. Shri Surjeet said that we have brought about the Presidential rule in order to patch up with Shri Bhindranwale. I mean, I can only really feel for the bankruptcy of his ideas. I think a time comes when a movement is started by good people for what they consider a good cause. But there also arises a time during that movement when the movement slips out of the hands of those who started it. It gets into the hands of the extremists. It gets into the hands of terrorists. It gets into the hands of anti-social elements. It gets into the hands of those who are the enemies of society and democracy. That is what has happened in Punjab and we have to wipe out these things. We have to really deal with these extremists. Recently—I will tell you; it is not a matter of joke—a newspaper item appeared that one Satwant Singh, an Akali extremist, had taken a vow that he would hijack a plane. He may still fulfil the vow because he said that whether he lives or dies, he will see that a plane is hijacked. I was surprised to find out that this Satwant Singh had gun which cost forty thousand dollars; So, I asked, why is this gun costing so much and I was told that this is one gun which can be used in an aircraft to immobilise all the passengers without damaging the aircraft, so that the hijacking operation is successful. I don't know whether those speakers who want to belittle the gravity of the situation in Punjab are aware of the most sophisticated arms which the extremists are possessing. I want to ask the hon. Home Minister whether he has made enquiries from where so much of money is coming for acquisition of such sophisticated arms and for carrying out the terrorist activities, because I am told—and it is elementary knowledge—that no terrorist activity can be carried on without the use of large funds. The very presence of these large funds itself is a source of great threat and great danger to our country. You see and read in the newspapers that this particular bank is robbed or that particular petrol pump is robbed. That is one way in which terrorists collect money. But what they get out

of these robberies is only the flea-bite; they cannot buy sophisticated arms by collecting Rs. 30,000 out of one bank robbery or a lakh out of some other bank. I think that many foreign elements are at work and it is a very serious matter to which the Government will give proper attention.

One thing is certain that ultimately our Government and the Prime Minister believe that in solving the problem, this is the right step. In the situation that prevailed, the ordinary democratic process had failed. In the language of Article 356, the Constitutional machinery had collapsed. That is the weakness of democracy where one has to please far too many and try not to displease anyone, and I am glad that such a provision—when one looks at the situation like this and of Assam—was included, because there is some debate about it in the Centre-State relationship debate which the Opposition is carrying on like a circus around the country. And it is only in the fitness of things that this Article 356 was invoked in this case.

I want to deal with the point which was raised earlier this morning by my esteemed friend, Mr. Advani. The hon. Member said: Why not dissolve the Assembly? I really cannot understand; he knows the difference between the situation when one has to dissolve the Assembly and a situation when one has to keep it in animated suspension. The Government had not lost the majority. The Government could run, but only at the cost of worsening the situation. It is only when there cannot be a formation of a Government that the Assembly is to be dissolved. Does the hon. Member really suggest that in this case, we should have dissolved the Assembly, perpetuating the President's Rule and not have elections for years and years to come? Are there conditions today present in Punjab for having any elections in the near future? I think, the answer lies in two factors. One, we had not lost the majority and there was no need for dissolving the Assembly so as to have fresh elections. Elections would have complicated the problem. The reasons for keeping the Assembly in suspended animation and not

dissolving it are far too obvious. But a point has to be made and, therefore, it has been made.

Similarly, the point which my friend Mr. Nigam has made about the Ordinances. The provision for promulgation of Ordinances is there in the Constitution and is there any Government in our history since 1950, which had not made use of this provision? I think, we are talking too much and sometimes, talking too much leads to a little irrelevance and I think, that we are over-emphasising that in this case, we took out these Ordinances. I think, this was the only thing we could do. I do not think, possibly, any other mode we could have been adopted, for taking this step to meet altogether an extraordinary situation which prevailed.

What next is the question? The Ordinances and the suspended animation of the Assembly should be taken to their logical conclusion. The situation should be controlled. Many say that these are the Sikh demands. Some of them say that some demands, at least four of them, are the demands of Punjab. I read articles written in 'The Indian Express' by a dozen illustrious citizens of this country. They say the same thing. But when you talk of Punjab's demands, is it not the responsibility of these persons to see that the agitation for getting these demands is carried on, the movement for getting these demands accepted pushed forward, in a manner acceptable to every resident of Punjab? How many of the Punjabis support these extremist and terrorist activities? How many of the Punjabis, the Sikhs as well as the Hindus, support the Akalis in the manner in which they are going about with their agitation in regard to getting their demands accepted? I think, it is an element of democracy that when a large number of people of a region want that their demands should be accepted, in a democratic, in a legal, way, they should abandon, they should give up, they should surrender all these illegal means and adopt a peaceful approach. I know what was the position when there were agitations for linguistic States. There is no State which had escaped these

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riots. Yet, we have solved some of these problems in a peaceful manner. Even today, after we have solved some of these problems, there is dispute which is existing between Karnataka and Maharashtra over the settlement of the border, particularly, the Belgaum area. Now, therefore, it is not as if we have not solved some of these earlier disputes in a democratic manner. And I think, if we claim to be the followers of Mahatma Gandhi, to depart from the path which he had shown, of non-violence and peaceful resistance, is really to be not the true sons of this great democratic and non-violent nation, which, today, happily and proudly for us, is the leader amongst the peace-loving nations of the world. The situation is fast being normalised. I am told the Government is going systematically about the job. They are combining the villages. There is also a suggestion that there would be hit brigades so that those who kill people without notice may also get a bullet without notice. But I do agree with the Government that though it is armed with the severest powers, those powers must be used the least and to the minimum. To that extent I welcome the suggestion made by the Governor that he would show the utmost restraint before he enters the Golden Temple or does anything of that kind. I am one with the Government because we are out to solve the problem and not allow it to aggravate any more. I am sure, it will not be long before which the situation is normalised and a common man in Punjab will be free to move, and when that situation is there we must keep the path of negotiation open because without negotiation nothing can be solved. We believe in negotiation, our Government believes in negotiation and Mr. Harkishan Singh Surjeet, who has given a long list of dates, clearly shows how earnest the Government has been about it. Of course, his all points will be dealt with by the Home Minister because he was there. I am also not the member of the Home Ministry Consultative Committee. So, I leave it to those who have the first-hand knowledge of those negotiations. But then we will negotiate with the moderates be-

cause one of the ways of putting down the extremists is to encourage the moderates and I do not think our Government will be unwilling to negotiate in a proper atmosphere, in a peaceful atmosphere where all these illegal means, all these blackmailing tactics are given up, and come to a solution which is satisfactory. Most of the demands have been conceded. All the religious demands have been conceded.

Now about Chandigarh, somebody mentioned that it was built as the capital of Punjab. It is only a matter of nomenclature that today we call it Haryana. Supposing, we had called Punjab as North Punjab and Haryana, as South Punjab. Could we then have said that Chandigarh was not built as the capital of South Punjab? I think we must all think as Indians, think of every territory that is affected by it. Look at Rajasthan. When we got waters from Pakistan we included the claim of Rajasthan and today you want the distribution to be done in a manner which will affect Rajasthan. I do not think that any Government would yield to it because the Centre has the responsibility of maintaining an equitable balance among all its States. It is like the father, the mother who has to look after all the children States, whether they be opposition States, whether they be Congress (I) States, with the same care, with the same affection and with no evil eye or uneven hand. I am quite sure that the Government will take all these steps which, I have indicated very very promptly. A situation which threatened America during the days of Abraham Lincoln is threatening us. Can you believe that in Kashmir on 13th October, on the day of the cricket match, there was an open exhibition of support to Pakistan?

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): We refute that categorically.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: If you defend it, I will hold you responsible, I will point a finger at you. (Interruptions). Don't interrupt. You joined us later in condem-



ning. (Interruptions). The very fact that they are opposing me shows their guilty mind. I must tell you that till this Government objected, till the Home Minister wrote, till the Prime Minister protested, there was not a whimper of protest from anybody else.

I tell you these are very serious things.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM (Tamil Nadu): I saw that cricket match. They were supporting Pakistan.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT DHANDARE: Therefore, it is a very serious matter. Do you know that today in Kashmir—not Srinagar—I have got the name; it is in Kashmir—there are regular camps for training of the Akali extremists. These camps have not been denied. (Interruptions).

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL (Jammu and Kashmir): That is false. We have denied it.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: One of your NC leaders—he is himself a Sikh—has said that this is freedom of religion. I will show that to you. I want to know what action National Conference has taken against such a member.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: We shall take action against any such member. (Interruptions).

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA-KANT BHANDARE: So the situation around us is very dark. Dark clouds are gathering, threatening the sovereignty, integrity and unity of the country. It will be a pity if we get bogged down in personal differences, in petty party rivalries and forget the interests of the nation.

With these words, I support this Resolution.

डा० भाई महावीर (मध्य प्रदेश) : सभापति जी, मेरे विद्वान दोस्त श्री भंडारे अभी इस अध्यादेश के हक में भाषण दे रहे थे। उन्होंने दो-एक बातें बड़ी रोचक कहीं जिन का उत्तर सुनने के लिए

वह सदन में रुकेंगे वह मुझे आशा थी, लेकिन वह सुनाने में ही विश्वास करते हैं, सुनने में भरोसा नहीं करते।

DR. SARUP SINGH: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I learn there was a convention in this House that after one Member has spoken, he would wait for at least one speaker after that. I think it is worthwhile that that convention should be revived. It is being violated by both sides.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Very well.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: I support it.

DR. SARUP SINGH: I think it is unfair.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: Especially when there are baseless charges, the speaker must wait to see the fate of those baseless charges. (Interruptions) I am here to give you the real picture about ourselves. You don't hold monopoly of patriotism.

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA: We have suffered a lot at your hands, and for no fault of ours.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: We have also suffered at your hands.

डा० भाई महावीर : उप-सभापति जी, श्री भंडारे ने सबरे मेरे नेता और मित्र श्री आडवाणी से जो एक सवाल उठाया था उसका जवाब देते हुए एक बड़ा रोचक तर्क प्रस्तुत किया। उन्होंने बड़ी हैरानी जाहिर की कि श्री आडवाणी को यह नहीं पता कि असेम्बली कब डिस्साल्व की जाती है और कब एनोमेटेड सस्पेंशन में रखा जाता है। उन्होंने इस के लिए जो बड़ा महान तथ्य उद्धाटित किया वह यह था कि जब मेजारिटी न रहे किसी पार्टी की तो फिर वहां पर विधान सभा का भंग किया जाता है उसको सस्पेंशन में नहीं रखा जाता। वह भूल गये, महोदय, 1971 में कर्नाटक में श्री वीरेन्द्र पाटिल की मिनिसट्री थी,

[डा० भाई महावीर]

उस का बहुमत समाप्त हो गया था, लेकिन बहुमत समाप्त हो जाने के बाद भी असेम्बली को सस्पेंशन में रखा गया ताकि फिर से कांग्रेस की मिनिस्ट्री बनाने को कोशिश की जा सके। '76 में गुजरात में श्री बाबूभाई पटेल की मिनिस्ट्री थी, उस का बहुमत समाप्त हो गया था, उस को भां भंग नहीं किया गया क्योंकि कांग्रेस पार्टी को फिर से मिनिस्ट्री बनाने की उम्मीद थी। आसाम में, महोदय, आप को याद होगा दो बार माइनारिटी गवर्नमेंट थोपने की कोशिश की गयी, एक बार श्रीमती अनवरा तैमूर की और दूसरी बार गोगोई की और दोनों बार आसाम में माइनारिटी में थी कांग्रेस पार्टी, लेकिन माइनारिटी गवर्नमेंट थोपने की कोशिश करते हुए भी, इस माइनारिटी पार्टी के रहते हुए भी असेम्बली को भंग नहीं किया गया, असेम्बली कायम रखी गयी एनीमेटेड सस्पेंशन में। (व्यवधान) आप की बारी जब आयेगी तो आप इन तथ्यों को नकारियेगा और अगर मेरी कोई गलती हो तो आप उसे दुरुस्त कीजियेगा। मैं आप के बीच में उस समय बाधा नहीं डालूंगा, लेकिन जो जानकारी मेरे पास है उसे बताने का मुझे पूरा अधिकार है। (व्यवधान) आप ठीक करिये, अपने काबिल दोस्त को ठीक करिये जिन को दूसरे की बात सुनने का धीरज नहीं और जो कहते हैं,

because a point was to be made, therefore, a point was made. Because he had to say something, therefore, he has said this.

महोदय, किसी भी तर्क में कौन सा हेतु रख कर बात की जाती है इस पर बहुत कुछ निर्भर करता है। पांडुचेरी की सरकार ने जिस समय बहुमत खोया उस के दूसरे दिन उस को भंग कर दिया गया और ऐसे कामों के लिये जब गवर्नरों

का इस्तेमाल किया जाता है तो स्वाभाविक रूप से गवर्नरों को जो अपना डिस्ट्रिक्शन इस्तेमाल करने का अधिकार है कि वे देख सकें कि संवैधानिक ढंग से वहां सरकार बन सकती है या नहीं, वह सरकार चल सकती है या नहीं, इस बारे में जो उन्हें केन्द्र को सूचना देने का अधिकार दिया गया है उस का छीन कर मानी केन्द्रीय सरकार उन को कठपुतली की तरह से इस्तेमाल करने लगती है और ऐसा होने पर ही संविधान के साथ अन्याय होता है और कितना अन्याय होता है इस का आप विचार स्वयं कर सकते हैं। मेरे काबिल दोस्त ने इसी तरह से यह भी कहा कि फारेन एलामेंट्स थे और फारेन एलीमेंट होने के कारण पंजाब में बहुत सी दुर्घटनाएँ हो रही थीं। मैं उन को बताना चाहता हूँ कि दो साल पहले जब यह आंदोलन चला इस रूप में उस समय से आज तक 116 हत्याएँ हो चुकी थीं और 357 लोग घायल हो चुके थे और 99 लोग प्रोक्लेम्ड आफेंडर्स थे और उन का आप पता नहीं लगा सके थे और वे पकड़े नहीं जा सके थे। उस के बाद वहां पर यह राष्ट्रपति शासन लगाया गया। यह दो साल तक इन हत्याओं का क्रम चलता रहा। क्या भंडारे जी यह बतायेंगे कि इतनी देर तक उन को यह डर क्यों नहीं लगा कि वहां की सरकार को इस के लिये नपुंसक सरकार कहा जायगा। आज वह कहते हैं कि यह कदम हम नहीं उठाते तो हमारी सरकार को नपुंसकमाना जाता।

It would have been an important Government! दो साल तक जिन के ऊपर नपुंसकता का आरोप लग सकता था तो वह उस को रेलिश कर सकते थे, उस को वह स्वीकार कर सकते थे, लेकिन 7 अक्टूबर को उन को एकाएक कोई एलर्जी होने लगी इस का कोई कारण समझ में नहीं आया। यह सच है कि हमारे दल के

लोगों ने भी मांग की कि पंजाब की सरकार अपने कर्तव्य के पालन में असफल रही है और सामान्य न्याय और व्यवस्था वहां कायम रखने में वह कामयाब नहीं रही है और इस लिये पंजाब की स्थिति को सुधारने के लिये वहां पर उस सरकार को बरखास्त किया जाय। यह मांग जरूर की जाती रही। लेकिन आप ने इस मांग पर कोई निर्णय न करते हुए जो इतनी देर लगायी, जो इतना विलंब किया उस का परिणाम यह हुआ कि स्थिति इतनी बिगड़ गयी कि आज आपके भूतपूर्व मुख्य मंत्री भी कहते हैं राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू होने के बाद भी स्थिति सुधरी नहीं है। उस के बाद भी वहां पर ट्रेन दुर्घटनायें हो रही हैं। ट्रेन की पटरी उखाड़ कर दुर्घटनायें करायी गयीं। दिल्ली में बम फटने को घटनायें हो रही हैं। अगर राष्ट्रपति शासन के द्वारा ही सब कुछ ठीक हो जाना था तो दिल्ली में तो राष्ट्रपति शासन है। दिल्ली की इन समस्याओं के बारे में आप क्या कर पा रहे हैं। जिस समय पंजाब के अंदर यह ज्वालामुखी तैयार हो रहा था उस समय में दिल्ली की सड़कों पर सौ, दो सौ अवैध हथियार ले कर जलूस निकाले गये, लेकिन केन्द्र की सरकार, दिल्ली के गृह मंत्री, यहां के भारत के प्रधान मंत्री इन सब को जानकारी होने के बाद भी और उस समय पंजाब की सरकार ने कह दिया कि हम ने सूचना दी थी कि यह सब आने वाले हैं, उस के बाद भी उन के बारे में कुछ नहीं कर सके। उस के लिये कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गयी। यह जो भारत सरकार ने और पंजाब सरकार ने इतने अरसे तक किया और जो स्थिति बिगड़ती गयी उस का एक परिणाम आज हमारे सामने है और उन परिणामों को देख अगर आप आंख मूंदने की कोशिश करते हैं तो आप उन से बच नहीं सकते। प्रधान मंत्री जी को बधाई दिये बगैर उधर

से कोई सज्जन बोल नहीं सकते इसी वास्ते हमारे मित्र श्री सुकुल ने आज की स्थिति में भी जब कि सचमुच में पंजाब की स्थिति ऐसी है कि लोगों की पीड़ा के कारण आंसू निकलते हैं, आज जब हम पंजाब को जलता हुआ देख रहे हैं फिर भी उन्होंने उस के लिये प्रधान मंत्री जी को बधाई दी और उस के बिना वह कोई बात कह नहीं सकते और उन्होंने कहा कि ऐसी स्थिति में राष्ट्रपति शासन वहां लागू किया गया। सवाल यह है कि उसके बाद भी उन्होंने यह क्यों नहीं कहा कि आज वहां बैंक लूटे जा रहे हैं। राष्ट्रपति शासन के बाद भी बैंक लूटे जा रहे हैं। नाम घोषित करके लोगों की हत्याओं को जा रही हैं। अगर राष्ट्रपति शासन के अन्दर भी यह होना था तो इन सारी बातों को कैसे रोकेंगे, मैं इस तर्क को समझ नहीं पाया। राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू होने के बाद भी यही हो रहा है और फिर यह कहना कि राष्ट्रपति शासन नहीं था तो हम इसको कैसे रोकते ?

महोदय, आज इस स्थिति को देखते हुए श्री भंडारे ने कहा कि हम कोई भी कुर्बानी करने के लिए तैयार हैं। बेशक कांग्रेस सारे राज्यों में सरकारें न बना पाये, फिर भी हम इस बात के लिए तैयार हैं कि वहां न्याय व्यवस्था कायम होनी चाहिये। पंजाब के अन्दर न्याय व्यवस्था कायम होनी चाहिये। अगर फिर इतनी दिलेरी थी तो आप बात करते नहीं। जिस वक्त आप यह बात कर रहे हैं कि अकालियों के साथ हम क्यों बात नहीं कर रहे हैं। हम उनको चिट्ठी भेजेंगे, तब भी आप उनके साथ सत्ता में शामिल होने के लिए तैयार हो ? क्या आपको साझा मंत्रिमंडल बनाने में ही सब बातों का इलाज दिखाई देता है क्या वहां आपकी सरकार पहले से नहीं

[डा० भाई महावीर]

थी ? आपकी साझा सरकार बनाने में कौन सा जादू हो सकता है। जैसा अभी भी सुरजीत जी कह रहे थे। अकाली दल के खिलाफ एक विरोधी लीडरशिप खड़ा करने की कोशिश कांग्रेस ने की। श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के कहने पर की या उनके इशारे पर की या अपने आप वहां के लोगों ने फसला करके की, मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन एक लीडरशिप खड़ा करने की कोशिश की गई जिससे उनका दिमाग इतना चढ़ गया कि वह आपके काबू में न रहे। लेकिन आप अकाली दल के खिलाफ लीडरशिप बनाने की इस वक्त कोशिश में हैं। ...

(व्यवधान)

मेरे दोस्त श्री भंडारे ने कहा कि किसी हाइजैक्स के पास 40 हजार डालर की गन है, वह हवाई जहाज का अपहरण करने पर तुले हुए हैं। मैं नहीं जानता कि इस हवाई जहाज के अपहरण को रोकने के लिए आप क्या कदम उठा सकेंगे। आप 40 हजार डालर की गन को रोकने के लिए क्या इस तरह की बन्दूक या हथियार तैयार करेंगे ? हो सकता है यह सबसे बड़ा तरीका जिसे आप नाकामयाब रहे आपही का बताया है। जब आप स्वयं अपहरण करवाते हो तो फिर दूसरों को कैसे रोकेंगे ? आप अपहरणकर्ता को विधान सभा का सदस्य बनाते हो तो जब दूसरा कोई अपहरण करता है तो उनका किस तरह से मुकाबला करोगे ? आज भी लोग कहते हैं कि पाकिस्तान की जेलों में हमारे अपहरणकर्ता सड़ रहे हैं। उनको तो आप छुड़वा नहीं सके और आपके आदमी अपहरणकर्ता थे तो उनको अपने विधान सभा का सदस्य बनवाया। एक तरफ आप अपहरण करते हो और दूसरी तरफ अपहरण को रोकने की बात

करते हो। क्या आपके अन्दर नैतिक बल है। क्या आप सच्चाई के साथ खड़े हो कर कह सकते हैं कि आप बिना किसी तरह के राजनीतिक लाग लपेट के उन लोगों के साथ व्यवहार करेंगे ? दुर्भाग्य यह है कि ऐसा दिखाई नहीं देता।

महोदय, मैं इन सामान्य बातों के साथ सिर्फ एक दो बातों की ओर आपका ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूं। आज पंजाब की जो स्थिति है उसको देश के सामने सही रूप में रखे बगर लोगों की तसल्ली नहीं होगी कि केन्द्र सरकार इसका ठीक फैसला करना चाहती है। इसलिए मेरे मित्र श्री निगम जो जो कह रहे थे कि आप एक हवाई पेपर प्रकाशित कीजिए। बार बार कहा जा रहा है। इसमें विदेशी हाथ है, विदेशों से शिआ मिल रही है। अभी कांग्रेस के महामंत्री ने कहा कि जम्मू काश्मीर के अन्दर, पाकिस्तान के अन्दर ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है। जम्मू-काश्मीर के मेरे मित्र यहां पर हैं, मैं नहीं जानता वह क्या कहेंगे, लेकिन मैं भी जरूर कहूंगा कि आप किसी पर उंगली उठाकर गलत बात मत करिये। यदि आपके पास सबूत है तो सदन को बताइये कौन से प्रमाण हैं जिसके आधार पर आप कह सकते हैं कि विदेशों से कोई ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है। मुझे कोई हैरानी नहीं होगी यदि पाकिस्तान में इस तरह की ट्रेनिंग दी जाती हो। पाकिस्तान हमें नुकसान पहुंचाने की कोशिश करेगा, इसमें आश्चर्य

नहीं। पाकिस्तान से हथियार आ रहे हैं, उनके बारे में भी सूचना है कि दो पाकिस्तानी निहंगों के रूप में पकड़े गये, उनसे पूछताछ करने पर मालूम हुआ कि वे पाकिस्तान से भेजे गये थे। ये सारी चीजें अगर हैं तो इनके बारे में देश को कांफिडेंस में लेने के लिये आपको एक श्वेतपत्र प्रसारित करना चाहिये और सारे देश को बताइये कि क्या स्थिति है। इसके साथ मैं एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा कि अटवाल जी, डी आई जी जिनकी हत्या हुई, उनके बारे में सुरजीत जी ने तथ्यों का बयान किया। हो सकता है उनके अंदर कुछ गलती हो। श्रीभंडारे कह रहे थे यह गलत है। अगर यह गलत है तो जो सी बी आई का रिपोर्ट है उसको प्रकाशित कीजिए। जब तक यह तथ्य सामने नहीं आते कोई कुछ समझ नहीं सकेगा कि इतने सीनियर पुलिस अफसर की हत्या होने के बाद, गुरुद्वारे के अहाते में हत्या होने के बाद सरकार क्यों कुछ नहीं कर पाई, कोई कदम क्यों नहीं उठा पाई। सारे पुलिस के अंदर किस प्रकार से डिमारेलाइजेशन है, किस तरह से उनके अंदर निराशा की भावना है इसका अंदाजा कोई नहीं लगा सकेगा। अगर आप समझते हैं कि उनमें निराशा की भावना नहीं है तो जो अखबार में निकलता है कि एक वरिष्ठ पुलिस अधिकाारी ने भिडरवाला के सामने जाकर हाथ जोड़े, माफी मांगी, और अपनी जान बख्शवाने की कोशिश की, कहा कि मेरी जान बख्श दीजिए उस लिस्ट में से जिसमें जान लेने वालों का नाम लिखा हुआ है, उसमें से मेरा नाम काट दीजिए। अगर यह स्थिति देश के पुलिस अधिकारियों की हो सकती है तो सामान्य आदमी को, सामान्य नागरिक को जो बिना किसी सुरक्षा के, प्रतिबन्ध के चलता है, हम सोच सकते हैं कि उसके मन की क्या स्थिति होगी।

पंजाब के अंदर जो कुछ हुआ है इसके बाद भी हमारे मित्र यहां पर कुछ और कह रहे हैं। अभी कांग्रेस (आई) का अधिवेशन बम्बई में हुआ। वहां जो प्रस्ताव आए, जो भाषण हुए, उनमें विरोधी दलों के ऊपर काफी कुछ आक्षेप था। विरोधी दलों पर काफी आलोचना की गई थी, काफी टिप्पणी थी। श्रीमती गांधी ने तो एक जगह यह भी कहा कि अगर विरोधी दलों को साथ न मिलाया होता तो शायद इस मामले का फैसला हो गया होता। आपने विरोधी दलों को साथ मिलाये बिना एंडो चौटी का जोर लगाया लेकिन हल नहीं निकला। क्योंकि आपकी नीयत नहीं थी। अगर आपको नियत होता तो हल निकलता। जब आप कोई हल नहीं निकाल पाये तो आपने विरोधी दलों को बुलाया। मुझ याद है ग्रह मंत्री जी ने इसी सदन में यह कहा था कि विरोधी दलों ने बड़ी रचनात्मक भूमिका निभाई है। जो अंतर था, जो डिफरेंस थे वे बड़े नैरो डाउन हो गये थे। इतना होने के बाद भी आप विरोधी दलों पर यह आक्षेप लगाते हैं कि उनके कारण यह समस्या हल नहीं हो रही है। यह बहुत ही, मैं कृतघनता की बात तो नहीं कहूंगा लेकिन यह बड़ी कृतघनता की बात नजर नहीं आती, यह जरूर कहूंगा। आपने अपने सारे प्रस्तावों में उसके खिलाफ, उसके विरोध में बम्बई में कुछ नहीं कहा। हल क्या हुआ? आखिर आपने राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू कर दिया। यह कोई हल नहीं है। राष्ट्रपति शासन के बाद भी आप देख रहे हैं क्या हो रहा है। आज दिल्ली के अंदर भी दुर्घटनाएं हो रही हैं। ला एंड आर्डर की व्यवस्था ठीक नहीं है। आज देश के अंदर और जीवन में अशांति दिखाई देती है। उसके रहते हुए राष्ट्रपति शासन के द्वारा ही सब कुछ कमाल हो जायेगा यह उम्मीद नहीं रखी जा सकती।

[ डा० भाई महावीर ]

है। इसलिये आपको सोचना होगा कि राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू करने के बाद आप को क्या करना होगा। बातचीत के सिवाय कोई तरीका नहीं है। एक-दो दफा मुझे भी वार्ता में उपस्थित रहने का अवसर मिला। त्रिपक्षीय वार्ता के लिये हमें इकट्ठा किया गया। अकाली नेता, सरकार के लोग, और विरोधी पक्ष के नेता थे। उस वक्त जो सद्भावना पूर्ण वातावरण बना हुआ था उससे ऐसा दिखाई देता था कि हल निकलने में कठिनाई नहीं होगी। इसके बाद कौनसी चीज रास्ते में आ गई इसका हमें पता नहीं चला। जो भी चीज रास्ते में आई हो लेकिन कई बार हमारा दल कहता रहा है, और उसको दोहराने में कोई आपत्ति मुझे नहीं। भारत सरकार को बातचीत करने के लिये फिर से पहल करने चाहिये। यह नहीं करना चाहिये कि एक बार कहे कि हम बात करेंगे और दूसरे दिन शर्त लगाकर यह कहे कि जब तक अकाली शांतिपूर्ण वातावरण नहीं बनायगो तब तक बातचीत के लिये हम तैयार नहीं होंगे। यह शर्त नहीं लगानी चाहिये और न इस तरह का कोई बयान देना चाहिए। जहां एक तरफ सरकार का यह काम है कि वार्ता-लाप शुरू करें वहां दूसरी तरफ हम लोगों ने बार-बार यह कहा कि अकाली नेतृत्व का भी एक कर्तव्य है और वह कर्तव्य यह है कि इस तरह की घटनाओं को खलकर इनको निन्दा करने चाहिये। इतना ही नहीं हमारे मित्र सुरजीत जी ने कहा था कि हम हिंसा को पसन्द नहीं करते। जो अकालीतन्त्र है, जो सिप्रिचुयल अथोरिटी है, जो आध्यात्मिक सत्ता है उसके बल पर आपको कहना पड़ेगा कि हम ऐसे अकाली को सिख नहीं मानेंगे। उसको यहां गुरुद्वारों में प्रवेश का अधिकारी नहीं समझेंगे और यह समझेंगे कि वह व्यक्ति किसी तरह

से भी गुरुओं की शिक्षा के ऊपर नहीं चल रहा है। इस तरह की घोषणा वे करें जिससे यह साबित हो सके कि वे शांति चाहते हैं और पंजाब में इस तरह की हत्याओं की राजनीति को समाप्त करना चाहते हैं एक तरफ तो अकालियों को यह करना पड़ेगा और दूसरी तरफ सरकार को भी देश को कांफिडेंस में लेने के लिए सारे तथ्य श्वेत-पत्र में देने चाहिए। सरकार को यह भा करना चाहिए कि अगर आप विरोधी-दलों से सहयोग लेना चाहते हैं तो लीजिये और अगर नहीं चाहते हैं तो मत लीजिये। लेकिन अगर जरूरत पड़े तो आप सहयोग लें और अपना काम निकल जाने के बाद यह कह दें कि विरोधी दल वालों ने सारा गुड़ गोबर किया है, इस तरह की गलत नीति से आप अविश्वास पैदा करेंगे और कांसेंस को जो राजनीति देश में विकास होना चाहिए वह विकसित नहीं होने पायेगा। एक तरफ तो यह कहा जाता है कि कांसेंस होना चाहिए और दूसरी तरफ आपके दल के महामंत्री कहते हैं कि कांसेंस दलों के साथ नहीं होगा, हम लोगों के साथ कांसेंस करना चाहते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि यह कौनसी डिक्शनरी है, कौनसी परिभाषा है और कौनसी शब्दावली आप शुरू करने जा रहे हैं, यह आपको ही पता होगा। अब तक तो कांसेंस के नाम पर दलों के नेताओं को बुलाया जाता था और हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि आप परिभाषा पर चलेंगे और उसी परिभाषा का उपयोग करेंगे। अगर आप गलत बात करेंगे तो देश में जो दुराव है, कलह है, बिगाड़ है, उसमें आप आग में घों डालने का काम करेंगे। मैं आशा करता हूं कि आप आग में घों डालने की कोशिश नहीं करेंगे।

महोदय, इस स्थिति में हम सदन के माननीय सदस्यों को यह विश्वास दिलाना चाहते हैं कि हम लोग चाहे यहां

बैठे हों, या वहां बैठे हों, इस समस्या के ऊपर केवल राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण से विचार करना अपना कर्तव्य समझते हैं और इसमें कुछ राजनैतिक हित लाने की भावना को शर्म की चीज समझते हैं। आपको भी ऐसा ही विश्वास दिलाना चाहिए। आज पंजाब के अन्दर यह कहा जा रहा है, यह माना जा रहा है कि आपको चिन्ता केवल यह है कि अगर अकालियों से मिलकर सरकार नहीं बनती है तो फिर अकाली विरोधी दल में चले जाएंगे और ऐसी स्थिति में कम से कम वहां के गैर-सिख वोट लेने के लिए स्थिति को बिगड़ने दिया जाय। अगर यह धारणा बनी रहती है तो यह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण बात होगी। इसलिए आपको यह प्रयत्न करना होगा कि यह धारणा निराधार है, यह साबित हो सके।

SHRIMATI AMARJIT KAUR (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, a few extremists in Punjab started this in the interest of their own political gains under the guise of religion. They openly proclaim that politics and religion are indivisible. Consequently they entered into the act of committing all sorts of heinous crimes such as looting, arson, killing and creating other acts of lawlessness and violence, which was neither in the interest of the Sikh community nor in the interest of the Punjab State itself. In the national context, it appears to be a disturbing feature before all sensible persons.

The hon. Prime Minister gave ample opportunity to the law-breakers for correcting themselves and for setting any issue, if it was there. A handful of extremists in Punjab, who are in the forefront of the agitation, mistakenly took it to be a weakness on the part of the Central administration and went on provoking and fomenting violence and all sorts of allied crimes. Innocent persons were killed, bombs were thrown, trains were derailed and places of religion were used for violent activities and concealing murderers. The wheel of development of the State was also put anti-clockwise,

which would put all the Punjabis, irrespective of their caste and creed, in a precarious economic condition.

All these incidents had by now become intolerable and President's rule was imposed in Punjab, keeping in view the State's and the national interests. This is the most welcome step, rightly taken at the right time. While supporting this, I request the hon. Prime Minister to apply stringent methods to control the situation in Punjab with an iron hand in the interest of all the communities living there and in the larger interest of the country as a whole. Thank you.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu): We totally oppose the President's rule in Punjab. The imposition of President's rule is undemocratic, anti-federal and against all acknowledged principles of a republican government. Being a member of a party which is fighting for more to the States, I strongly oppose the exercise of power under Article 356 against any State Government. No doubt the situation in Punjab is deplorable. It should be brought under control as early as possible. If the Chief Minister was not able to control the situation and arrest the activities of extremists, he could have requested the Congress Party to elect a new leader. If the Congress Party failed to comply with the Governor could have dissolved the Assembly and ordered for election. Declaration of President's rule is not a remedy to overcome the problem of law and order. It is proved in Assam that the Centre is incompetent to deal with the situation. After restoration of the State Government in Assam, I am proud to say, the situation has improved. Therefore, the State Government is the only competent authority to deal with the situation effectively. After declaration of President's rule in Punjab, according to Darbara Singh, it is said that violent activities have increased rather than decreased. So, probably it may be helpful to the party in power to save their own party rather than the people in the State. While we strongly oppose the President's rule in any State, we do not hesitate to condemn violence and terrorism in any

[Shri Aladi Aruna alias V. Arunachalam]

part of the country, especially in Punjab. Our Chief Minister, Dr. MGR, three months ago, had condemned the violence which was sporadic but which now is prevailing all over India. Therefore, we are against terrorism and extremist activities in Punjab. We condemn it freely and fearlessly. At the same time we appeal to the Government to have a dialogue with the leaders of the Akali Dal. Apart from the religious demand, their resolution of the Anantpur Sahib must be taken into consideration because it is not against national unity, and it is not against national-integration. If you go through the Constitutional history of India during our freedom struggle, we had accepted the system of loose federal government before Cripps Commission. At Satpura Committee we had accepted the loose federation. What was accepted by the Congress Party during the freedom struggle has been reminded by the Akali Dal. So the resolution of the Anantpur Sahib is not a new one. There is nothing for getting alarmed by this resolution. History is repeating the facts. I remind you, it is quite impossible hereafter to rule the country like the English people with more centralised power. The pulse of the history has begun to beat differently. The rekind form of colonialism will not last for a long period. I appeal to the Central Government to revoke the President's rule and order for elections. I may say one thing more. The award of 1970 by the Prime Minister on the territorial issue and the award of 1981 on the surplus waters of the Ravi and Beas have not been taken into consideration and it is the Centre which is mostly responsible for this failure. Therefore, you must have a dialogue with the leaders and at the same time you must order for elections. That is the proper way to deal with the situation.

DR. SARUP SINGH: I am sorry that Mr. Bhandare is not here. Actually I thought that as a seasoned lawyer he would be more objective in his assessment of the situation. I was also puzzled by some of the things that he had said. On the one hand he talked

of Mahatma Gandhi and in the same breath he mentioned hit brigades and so on and so forth. Frankly I do not know whether there can be a law prohibiting anyone of us using the name of Mahatma Gandhi.

I think that has become very necessary because all of us from that side and this side continue using that gentleman's name without realising what he stood for. And it is very unfortunate.

There is something else that I want to say. When I was coming to the House some friends advised me as to what I should say. But I heard a few things here which have grieved me. You feel scandalised when some young people cheer up a team and raise slogans against Pakistan. What would happen to you and me if my mother were in Pakistan. my brothers and sisters are there. I sheer fear I may keep quiet. But I have some sympathy for them because my parents ran away to Pakistan in 1947 and my brothers and sisters are there. I happened to stay behind for certain reasons which may be quite practical. If I have some sympathy with that country do not hang me. Try to understand my psychology. You can correct me by correcting my psychology. You cannot correct me through force. Do you want to convert every Muslim in this country like that? If I go and watch a hockey match between India and Pakistan and if I see every Muslim hailing Indian team, then I would say 'your professional secularism means something' because I am sorry to say it does not mean a thing. Whenever you need votes of Muslims, you start catering Muslims. When you need votes of Hindus, you start saying that Muslim fundamentalism is becoming a threat to this country. When you need votes from the Sikhs, they are the bravest people in the country. When you need Hindus votes in Punjab, the Sikhs are a threat to national integrity, sovereignty, and so on and so forth. What is this game that you are playing and with whom are you playing this game? Do you realise what is happening to the Sikh mind? Forget the Muslim mind.



What has happened to the Sikh mind? Even the highly secular Sikhs feel totally confused. You may mind it that someone should say this. Shri Khushwant Singh could say that, but he may not like to say it. I would say that Bhindranwala is a danger to me—much more than to Hindus. He may kill a few people there. But as a Sikh, what would happen to me because my neighbour is a Hindu whom I trust? Whether you like it or not, to a Hindu mind there is no distinction between a Sikh, an Akali, an extremist or Bhindranwala. For an ordinary Hindu everybody is the same. And if everybody is same, what have you achieved? There was a time when you could have made a distinction between extremists and moderates. You refused to do it. Today you say: You create a congenial atmosphere. The British have said exactly the same. They said you do not deserve freedom. You create conditions in which you can be granted freedom. You have been saying: so many killed; so many dead, etc. Has anyone cared to read what the British Government had said in the White Paper they brought out after 1942? You read it. You will find exactly the same kind of thing. They said: So many trains were burnt and, therefore, put them down. And the British Government put them down because they were a foreign Government. But we are not a foreign Government. They are your people. They are not foreigners. You are out to destroy whatever sentiment the Sikh community had for India. Why and what for? Kill anybody you like—Bhindranwala or some one and so on and so forth. Unless you face the psychological problem that you have created, no solution will come. Why do you mind when a Sikh says: "Look here, nowhere else in the country can my community be supreme". If I say, in Punjab let them be supreme, why do you mind it? Now Muslims are in majority in Kashmir. If you remove that position and by adopting your clever tricks, you defeat the National Conference, what do you achieve? What do you achieve? You will achieve political victory. But what kind of a victory? It is worse than defeat. You have faced that in Assam and you will face the same thing in Punjab also.

But, for God's sake, don't play this game. What has happened to the Hindu mind now, the Haryana mind, let us say? Somebody said that industry and commerce have come to a standstill in Punjab and all the top Hindus are coming to Haryana. As a Haryanvi I do not like it. The reason is this: We will have some money. But they will bring some money and they will bring hatred also and we do not need more hatred in Haryana. Under Mr. Bhajan Lal no more hatred is to be imported. We have enough of it and it is of a type which you gentlemen and ladies cannot imagine. I heard a speech recently. It was a recorded speech. I will not name the gentleman concerned. He is an important Congress leader. An important Congress leader comes to a Haryana village—he is from Haryana—and what does he say? He says, and it is in Hindi:

“देखो, बहिन जी घबरा गई थीं ।

बहिन जी मोज़ इन्दिरा गांधी । बहिन जी घबरा गई थीं, कांप गई थीं । हमारे शेर ने कहा कि मैं हूं, तो ग्राफ घबराती क्यों हैं ? उन्होंने कहा कि यह शेर नहीं हो सकता । हमारे शेर ने कहा हम करके दिखायेंगे और हमारे शेर ने वह करके दिखाया, वह करके दिखाया ।”

What करके दिखाया means you all know. But, as a Haryanvi I do not feel proud of this. And, the moment a crisis comes, every Congressman in Haryana slips into the Arya Samaj. You, Mr. Mukherjee, are a highly educated person. Do you realise the implications of this? Do you realise what is happening because of this? You say that it is not an easy problem. I agree. It is not an easy problem and talking to the Akali Dal and finding a solution is not easy. But at least continue the conversation. The tripartite conference was a highly successful one. I was a member of that. On one point there was disagreement which was, as Mr. Surjeet said, meaningless. That disagreement could

[Dr. Sarup Singh]

have been removed through further negotiations and so on. The Akalis have been very stupid. If I were a Sikh, I will not forgive the Akalis because they have created a problem for me which I am not prepared to face. Often, I feel, Mr. Vice-Chairman, like one of the characters of Shakespeare: "Peace be to this House." Both the Government at the Centre and the Akalis have ruined the country and are out to ruin the country. And what does one do about it? We all have become irrelevant, absolutely irrelevant, and the Houses of Parliament have become irrelevant and at times I feel that the Central Government has become irrelevant. The Home Minister was very reasonable when the negotiations were going on. They could not go further. Why? I do not know. They say, "White Paper". What do we do with a White Paper? Any Government can produce a White Paper of whatever kind it likes. But, if you want business, if you mean business, first of all, search your hearts. Do not spread the intolerance that you are spreading everywhere. That will damage the country in a manner in which nothing else will damage it. You will see it, whether you like it or not. I was born a Hindu and I presume I am still so and my daughter is to be married according to the Hindu rites. I have also read some books on Hindu religion, but only some. But then I realise, as a Hindu what is important. I want India to be strong and united and so on. As a Hindu I ask how India can become strong and united. As a father I think how my family will become strong and united. I have four children and one of them is a psychological problem. He is mentally disturbed. And what is my attitude and my wife's attitude? What is our attitude about this family? I have to see that this child does not have this kind of a complex. If the children have this complex, what do you do about it? Go into this, understand this. Somebody goes to the Prime Minister and says, "Madam, you are the greatest person in the world now. They are mad and they are antinational and the Akalis are no good. You get rid of them. The sooner you get rid of them

the better.' This is what they say. Actually, Mr. Bhandare used the word "wipe out". Whom do you wipe out? Who wipes out whom? Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is for the first time that I have realised my utter irrelevance in this House. But I do not mind saying it, because I have no illusions about it. I thought I should say this and I have said it. I realise my utter irrelevance in this House.

4 P.M.

And I have forgotten all that because the problem is not of President's rule or this rule or that rule. The problem is much larger. And a Government like this, Government of a great nation, should behave like the Government of a great nation. But what is happening is that even in the matter of foreign policy, quite often, we are not behaving like a great nation but we are behaving like a small nation. The same thing we are doing here. Therefore, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I do not represent this political or that political angle.... (*Interruptions*)

[*The Vice-Chairman (Shrimati Margaret Alva) in the Chair*]

May I request, Madam, now that you have come, to allow me, before I sit down, to make a suggestion? Madam, you will hear me after you have taken over the Chair fully. (*Interruptions*) My request is that you should pass some legislation whereby nobody, who is above 35, should be able to become a Member of the Rajya Sabha. I got this impression when I was watching the mussels power and the lung power this morning. What is Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiaiah doing here? Mr. Khushwant Singh, though he might be a brave Sikh—well, when it comes to shouting what is he or we are doing here? You should see that nobody should become a Member of the Rajya Sabha unless he has training in wrestling and he can shout down others, and so on. Madam, when you stood up to speak, I felt sorry.... (*Interruptions*) I knew that your voice will not reach anywhere. Anyway, I do wish that the voice of reason reaches somewhere, and reasonable person like you, Mr. Mukherjee, and

some others give some thought to what I have said earlier, because we are dealing with a much larger question than a small question of some agitations in Punjab.

Thank you very much.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA):** Mr. Kalyanasundaram.

**SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM** (Tamil Nadu): Madam, Vice-Chairman, the situation in Punjab is a matter of serious concern for the entire nation. So it should not be viewed from any narrow party angle. The Opposition parties are anxious to see that some political solution is reached. No political party condemned the proclamation of the President's rule, even there was some objection to retaining the Assembly in animated suspension. The Prime Minister appealed to the Opposition parties... Well, I do not know whether she appealed or criticized the Opposition parties for their failure to cooperate with the Government on such an important issue as national unity. The Opposition parties offered their cooperation. Twice they met the Prime Minister in joint conferences along with the Akalis. Even now they are meeting individually and are offering their suggestion. Our party is not happy that in Punjab there should be violence, disorder, this and that. And no section of the same people even in Punjab, whether Sikhs, Hindus or Muslims, will be happy about the situation that is prevailing there. We expected that after the President's rule there will be an improvement in the direction of restoration of normalcy. That is not in sight. Instances of violence are growing; these are spreading. They are even threatening the life of the people in our capital. President's rule has been there. A very able man who is reputed for his efficiency in administration, has been put as the Governor. Three efficient officers have been issued declaring the capital Officers have been transferred Ordinances have been issued declaining the capital and the Punjab State as disturbed areas to that the administration can func-

tion freely in dealing with terrorism. The Police and the Armed Forces are clothed with draconian powers to shoot anybody. In spite of all this, are we anywhere near restoration of peace and amity in that State? Does it give confidence to the people in other States that something serious is being done to restore normalcy in that State? We are all concerned about it. It is a border State. Although the Prime Minister has not named the country, it is clear that Pakistan is very happy. It is wrong to equate the struggle that is going on in Pakistan for restoration of democracy with what is happening in Punjab. Pakistan may be happy or may be instigating. But, has the Congress (I) Party which is the inheritor of the Indian National Congress which is entering its 98th year, have a really wider vision for dealing with such matters? May I ask our Congress (I) friends whether they are all united inside the State in dealing with the Akalis or the extremists? Here is the problem. My colleague, Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet, referred to two occasions when settlement was almost very near. One is the mission of Sardar Swaran Singh and the other is the meeting of the Political Committee of the Government. The settlement would have been reached to some extent. The Akali leaders are nervous in dealing with the extremists there. We should also help the moderates amongst the Akalis to go to the mainstream and not to be afraid of the extremists. The Government has failed to implement the understanding reached on those two occasions. Has the matter been examined properly and with some introspection? Congress(I) people cannot say that they alone are doing the correct thing and that the opposition parties are not helping them. That claim is not based on facts. What should be done now? Powers are there. But can you exercise those powers and restore order? Can you solve the problem? A political solution is necessary. The Akali leaders must also realise that they are also responsible for this situation in Punjab. They have been hobnobbing with all sorts of people. The Akali leaders must be realistic. The extremists will not follow even the Akalis. That is the

[Shri M. Kalyanasundaram]

danger. They first encouraged them. Now, the extremists are going to swallow. Now, the extremists are going to swallow. Opposition parties have taken the initiative. The Opposition parties not at Srinagar. It was at that time the President's Rule was promulgated. The Opposition parties did not condemn it. On the other hand, look at the response, the attitude that those parties have taken. They may have their views with regard to Centre-State relations. But they have agreed that article 356 should be retained at least for the limited purpose of meeting a situation like Punjab when Presidential Rule may be necessary and it may not be possible to hold the elections immediately. Such is the response, the attitude taken by the Opposition parties. And there is no use or there is no need to blame the Opposition parties. Congressmen themselves must rethink. Haryana cannot have one way, Rajasthan cannot have another way and Punjab cannot have a third way. So, the Congressmen, whether they are in Rajasthan, or in Punjab or in Haryana, if they can think together in the nation's interest a solution would be possible. With regard to Chandigarh as capital, same people raised a doubt about it. Mr. Bhandare, when he spoke, said can Haryana be denied their right. Mr. Sarup Singh comes from Haryana are reconciled that Chandigarh will go to Punjab.

DR. SARUP SINGH: Kindly don't involve me in this. Don't say this, otherwise my life will be in danger.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: So, you are...

DR. SARUP SINGH: No, no. Haryana people have the right to say what they like. Let us not....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA): He did not speak on anybody's behalf. He spoke on his own behalf.

SHRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM:

You are keeping Chandigarh as if it is already disturbed area. But do not make it a disputed area. Then you will foment only trouble. With regard to the other two tehsils—Fazilka and Abohar—by transferring some villages. So, given by transferring some villages. So, given the earnest effort by the ruling party, that is, the Government, it is possible to reach a political solution so that all same-minded Sikhs and Hindus can be brought together to face the situation! No police, no Army, however powerful may be, no weapons, however heavy they may be, can solve this problem. So, what is needed is a political solution by negotiations with the Akali leaders so that you can isolate the extremists. At least, a good section of the Sikh population and the Hindus and the Muslims in that area will stand by the Government and face the situation. So, it is very urgent. There is no room for delay in this matter. So far as the Opposition parties are concerned, there are parties who will help in this process of negotiation with the Akali leaders. So, I urge upon the Government to again try to bring about a tripartite conference not relying only on the repressive measures and ordinances. You call for a tripartite conference with all the Opposition parties. Let them participate. I do not see that anybody will make any proposal to encourage separatism or encourage terrorism in that state.

Therefore, on behalf of my Party, I urge upon the Government to call for a tripartite conference with the Opposition parties so that a political solution can be reached, so that peace can be restored in that States and the extremists and the separatists isolated.

**श्री सत पाल मित्तल (पंजाब) :**

मैडम वाइस चेयरमैन, पंजाब में जो राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया गया है उसको सपोर्ट करने के लिये मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। प्रधान मंत्री जी के लिये, या हमारे जो देश के नेता हैं उनके किसी के लिये खुशी की बात नहीं हो सकती, कि किसी प्रदेश में राष्ट्रपति का राज लागू करना पड़े। लेकिन जब हालात ऐसे हो जाएं जैसे कि पंजाब में हुए, ला एंड आर्डर को मफलूज करने के लिये, तवाह और बरखादी के लिये वे सब हथकंडे इस्तेमाल किये गये जो हथकंडे लोकराज में, लोकशाही में इस्तेमाल नहीं किये जाने चाहियें, लोकराज का मूलतब ही यह है कि लोगों की राय के साथ, लोगों की सहमति के साथ राज किया जाए, मेरी राय में लोकराज के रहते हुए तलवार की नोक से या बुलेट से या इस किस्म के दीगार हथियार इस्तेमाल करने से लोकराज चलाया जाए तो बड़ा नुकसान पहुंचता है। ऐसे हथियारों की लोकराज में गुंजाइश नहीं होनी चाहिये। आखिर लोगों की राय के साथ जो पार्टी से चुनकर आते हैं, उनकी राय, उनकी सहमति के साथ एक निश्चित समय के लिये, निश्चित अर्से के लिये ? राज अपने हाथ में लेते हैं, लेकिन अफसोस की बात है कि अकाली पार्टी ने, उनके नेताओं ने बुरी तरह से लोगों की हत्याएं की, बुरी तरह से लोगों को पीट कर उन्होंने ऐसे हथियार इस्तेमाल किये जो कि लोकराज में नहीं किये जाने चाहिये। जब वह खुद राज में थे, जनता पार्टी के साथ मिलकर सेंटर में भी राज कर रहे थे और पंजाब स्टेट में भी कर रहे थे, तब न इन्होंने चंडीगढ़ का मसला उठाया और न कोई टैरीटरी का मसला उठाया और न पानी की तकसीम का मसला उठाया और न अनन्तपुर साहब का रेजोलूशन उनको याद

आया और न कोई धार्मिक मामला याद आया। क्योंकि उस वक्त राज उनके पास था। वह समझते थे कि जब तक राज उनके पास है कोई मसला पंजाब का नहीं है, कोई प्रोब्लम पंजाब की नहीं है ! जब वे लोग हटा दिये गये, लोगों ने वोट डालकर इनको शिकस्त दी, कांग्रेस पार्टी को गद्दी पर बिठाया तो सारे मसले खड़े हो गये। सारे मसले लेकर खड़े ही नहीं हुए बल्कि हमारे पवित्र स्थान गुरुद्वारे और मन्दिरों की आड़ लेकर उन सब लोगों को जिनकी एक्स्ट्रीमिस्ट कहा जाता है उनको आज पनाह दी जा रही है। वे लोग जाते हैं और हत्या करके आते हैं। बैंक लूट कर आते हैं। लोगों को मार कर आते हैं। खून खराबा करके आते हैं। हम अखबारों में देखते हैं जिस गाड़ी से ये गड़बड़ कर के आए हैं वही गाड़ी किसी गुरुद्वारे के बाहर खड़ी है, किसी मन्दिर के बाहर खड़ी है। ये सब लोग जिनको हम कह सकते हैं हत्यारे हैं, मानवता के और इंसानियत के। क्योंकि मेरी राय में चाहे हिन्दू मरता है या सिख मरता है असल में वह मानव मरता है। पता नहीं वह किस के इशारे पर होता है, किस विदेशी ताकत के इशारे पर होता है, किस के पैसे की ताकत पर होता है। मुझे वह जंगे आजादी की याद आती है जब लाखों लोग महात्मा गांधी और पंडित जवहार लाल नेहरू को कियादत में जेल की कोठरी में बंद थे। चोरी के मामले में पुलिस स्टेशन पर धावा बोला गया। इससे पुलिस स्टेशन को नुकसान पहुंचा। जब देश के पितामाह महात्मा गांधी को इस बात का पता लगा तो कहने लगे कि इस एजिटेशन का संचालक मैं हूँ।

मैं देश की आजादी का इंतजार कर सचता हूँ लेकिन यह बर्दाश्त नहीं कर

[श्री सत पाल मित्तल]

सकता कि नान वायलेंट मूवमेंट में वायलेंट की गुंजाइश हो। और उन्होंने डिक्टेटर होते हुए यह सारी मूवमेंट जो आजादी के लिए चल रही थी, जिसमें लाखों लोग जेल जा रहे थे, जो अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ चल रही थी उसमें हिंसा को ज़ुर्न नमज़ा और उसको वापस ले लिया यह शक्ति थी, यह ताकत थी जो हमारे देश में आजादी लाई और जिसने सारे संसार में हमारा मान और गौरव बढ़ाया। लेकिन आज क्या हालत है? अकाली दल वाले क्या कर रहे हैं, यह सब जानते हैं। वसों से उतार-उतार के लोगों को चुन-चुन कर मार रहे हैं। अकालियों में हिंमत नहीं है कि वे इसको कन्ट्रोल करें। हिंमत की बात तो दूसरी है, बल्कि एक्ट्रोमिस्ट्स को और क्रिमिनल्स को पनाह दी जा रही है। प्रधान मंत्री जी को यह राय थी कि पंजाब में प्रेजीडेंट रूल नहीं होना चाहिए। उनकी राय थी कि चुने हुए लोगों को ही सारा प्रबन्ध करना चाहिए और ला एण्ड आर्डर की स्थिति पर काबू करना चाहिए। लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी जब हालत बहुत खराब हो गई तो राष्ट्रपति का रूल लागू करना पड़ा ताकि प्रेजीडेंट रूल लागू करके सरकार को ताकत दी जाय जिससे वे अशांति पैदा करने वाले नासूर से निपट सकें। अभी भी वहाँ पर हालत नार्मल नहीं कही जा सकती है। इक्का-दुक्का घटनाएँ होती रहती हैं।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की हालत में जो नासूर तत्व होते हैं वे भी एजिटेशन में आ जाते हैं और फिर उस हालत को रोकना लीडरों के वश की बात भी नहीं रह जाती है। आप जानते हैं

कि पंजाब एक सरहदी इलाका है। पाकिस्तान से उसकी सरहद लगती है। पाकिस्तान गाहे-बगाहे मिलटरी एक्स-रसाइजेज करता रहता है और यह बताता रहता है कि पहले भी वह हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला कर चुका है। ऐसी हालत में यह कुदरती बात थी कि पंजाब में प्रेजीडेंट रूल लागू किया जाय। यह ठीक था और वाजिब भी था। मैं समझता हूँ कि अपोजीशन के कुछ नेता लोग जो तरह-तरह की बातें कर रहे हैं वे आग से खेलने की कोशिश मत करें। हमारे देश में आज शांति की ज़रूरत है, अमन की ज़रूरत है। ऐसे मौके पर यात्राएँ निकालने की ज़रूरत नहीं है। देश के भिन्न-भिन्न फ़िरकों में अलगाव नहीं पैदा किया जाना चाहिए। ये सांप के फन हैं। ये कहते हैं कि इस तरह से देश को मजबूत किया जा रहा है। हिन्दुस्तान में 80 प्रतिशत हिन्दू हैं। उनको क्या खतरा हो सकता है? हम चाहते हैं कि ये छोटी छोटी सियासी दुकानें बन्द की जानी चाहिए। धी के नाम पर लोगों को नहीं भड़काया जाना चाहिए। जब दो सांप लड़ते हैं तो यह समझा जाता है कि ये लड़ रहे हैं, लेकिन असल में ये लड़ नहीं रहे हैं, ये ताकतें एक दूसरे को ताकत दे रही हैं। हिन्दुओं के नाम पर, मुसलमानों के नाम पर लोगों को भड़काना ठीक नहीं है। इसलिए मैं आपके माध्यम से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो ताकतें देश में फिरकापरस्ती फैलाती हैं उनको सक्ती से कुचला जाना चाहिए। जो ताकतें देश की एकता में बाधा पहुंचाती हैं उनके खिलाफ सख्त कदम उठाना चाहिए। हमारे देश में जो माहौल महात्मा गांधी ने पैदा किया था, पंडित जवहार लाल नेहरू ने पैदा दिया था उसको मजबूत करने की ज़रूरत है। लोगों की बहुबूदी के लिए, उनकी भलाई के लिए जो प्रोग्राम बनाये गये हैं उनको आगे

बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए। मैं सरकार से और पंजाब के गवर्नर महोदय से कहूंगा कि जिस काम के लिए प्रेजिडेंट खल लागू किया गया है उस निशान को सामने रखकर सख्ती के साथ ऐसी ताकतों को कुचला जाना चाहिए जो धर्म के नाम पर और धर्म का सहारा लेकर मंदिरों और गुरुद्वारों में मतभेद पैदा कर रहे हैं।

आखिर में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम सब भाई हिन्दुस्तान की मिट्टी में पैदा हुए हैं। चाहे वह मुसलमान है, ईसाई है, यहूदी है, पारसी है, हिन्दू है अथवा सिख है, हम सब भाई भाई हैं। हमारा एक देश है, हमारा खून एक है, हमारी कौम एक है। लेकिन पंजाब में हिन्दू और सिखों में कोई फर्क नहीं है। हमारे गुरु साँझ हैं हमारे धर्म ग्रंथ साँझ हैं, हमारा कल्चर समझा है और हमारा आपस में रोटी-बेटी का रिश्ता है। हमारा सब एक होते हुए भी इस किस्म का जो व्यवहार पंजाब में चल रहा है जिसमें दोनों तरफों में नफरत पैदा करने की कोशिश की जा रही है, इसको सख्ती से दबाना चाहिए। मैं आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी जो ताकतें हैं इनको सख्ती से दबाया जाना चाहिए और जो लोग हवा दे रहे हैं, जो लोग दिल्ली से या जम्मू-कश्मीर से हवा देते हैं और जो इन आग के शोलों को भड़काते हैं उनसे सख्ती से निपटना चाहिए। इतना कहकर मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया।

**SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH** (Nominated): Madam Vice-Chairman, I rise to support the proclamation of President's Rule in the Punjab. I had the privilege of suggesting that President's Rule should be imposed in the Punjab over a year ago. I think, the tragedy of the Punjab has been the failure to take action when the

time for action came. We have paid the heavy price for it in the last fifteen months during which the agitation has been continuing. Let me list a few events that have taken place. One hundred and fifty thousand people have gone to jail. There have been 154 acts of violence in which 35 Nirankaris, fifteen policemen, including a Deputy Inspector General of Police, two Inspectors, four General of Police, two Inspectors, four have been killed. There have been 34 incidents of bombing in two of them the ex-Chief Minister of Punjab was the target, two hijackings, derailment of trains. One hundred and fifty Akalis have been killed, of which 19 were Nihangs, in what they describe as fake encounters.

The significant point about all this is that in all these crimes, no arrests have been made, because, the culprits were able to get away. From this, we can only draw three conclusions. Either the Administration has been totally inept, in handling the situation, or, the people are so frightened that they are not giving any assistance to the Police or, what is more plausible, this agitation and the acts of violence have now gained popular support amongst the masses; the people are unwilling to hand over the culprits who had committed these crimes.

Madam Vice-Chairman, you will agree that for any Government, this is an extremely black record, particularly of one which claims to be a Government which works. These are also extremely poor credentials for any party particularly, a party which now proclaims that it is going to save the country. 'Desh Bachao'. What is unfortunate is that the contagion has spread. It has spread from the Punjab to Haryana. There have been incidents of violence in Yamunanagar, there have been incidents of violence in Delhi and there have been incidents of Hindu-Sikh violence in Madhya Pradesh, in Indore. The roots of these incidents are basically in the Punjab.

We will be living in a fool's paradise if we do not realise that worse is yet to come. You, probably, would have

[Shri Khushwant Singh]

read about the massive support that ex-servicemen, have promised to the Akali Party. You have seen evidence of support for the extremist elements in the State. And I have no doubt, in due course, the haven of refuge for terrorists will be Pakistan. How do you go about saving the country in these circumstances? As long as the Government treats this problem as a law and order problem, it will remain a law and order problem. It is not a law and order problem but a political problem. As has been pointed out by successive speakers, mainly from the Opposition parties, this is a problem which can be very easily solved. We have come close to a solution several times. Let me, just for the sake of refreshing your memory, tell you how simple this matter is.

The Home Minister himself made a statement that basically there are only three major issues involved. The rest are peripheral. One is over the river waters. Other is over Chandigarh and the third is over the boundary readjustments. The river water problem has been with us and has been adjudicated many times since the country attained independence. There has been an award given by the Prime Minister, a tentative settlement by the parties and the matter has been referred to Tribunals. Now the Akali Party has approached the Supreme Court. The matter is pending before the Punjab High Court as well as in the Supreme Court. What is the difficulty for the Government now to come and say, all right, the matter is there with the Supreme Court, we are willing to accept what the Supreme Court decides? The Akalis have said, yes. What is the wrong with the Government saying, let the river water dispute be decided by the Supreme Court?

Then there is the problem of Chandigarh. Too much has already been said on this subject. As far as I am concerned, I would say that the Akalis would be very wise to allow Chandigarh remain as it is because they earn a lot of income from the Haryanvis who go there regu-

larly, but it is up to them to make their own judgements. (*Interruptions*) Mr. Mittal, would you kindly listen to what I am saying because I have been listening to you... (*Interruptions*)

The matter of Chandigarh is capable of the simplest solution. I wish Mr. Bhandare was here. When Andhra Pradesh was separated from Tamil Nadu, was there any question of sharing Madras city? When Maharashtra and Gujarat were separated, did Gujaratis ever ask for division of Bombay? Why can't that precedent be followed here? A new State has been created. If Haryana is finding it difficult, there should be no problem in sharing Chandigarh till Haryana forms another capital. Personally I would suggest to the Akalis that they are being foolish in pressing this demand because it is in their interest and in the interest of Punjab to allow Haryana to stay in Chandigarh. They earn income from the Haryanvi visitors, legislators, who go there regularly.

And then finally it is the matter of boundary readjustments, a very small problem. Only a few villages are involved. The Home Ministry has already made a statement that they are willing to submit this matter to a boundary Commission. All they need to do now is to also publish the terms of reference that will be given to the Boundary Commission. Two things are to be made clear, that the village will be considered the unit and secondly the principle of contiguity will be maintained. In one country we cannot afford to have corridors drawn across each other's States.

Madam Vice-Chairman, I spent last week-end listening to the tapes, of the speeches made by Sant Bhindranwale. It took me nearly six hours because these are succession of speech is he made to pak jathas. These tapes are new widely distributed and sold at cost price all over the State and everywhere else. Let me admit, nothing has pained than what I heard on these tapes. They breathe hatred in every single sentence. It is a strange language that this man who calls him-



selt a 'Sant' used. Wrapped in between all exhortations to be good Sikhs are words of contempt for Hindus. I will not go into those details because in my next column I will be writing about then. One significant thing, which appears to be a constant theme in his speeches, is exhorting the Sikhs to be *shastradhari*.

“खालसा जी शस्त्रधारी बणो ।  
हिन्दुओं कोल शस्त्र ने बगैर लाइसेंस  
दे । हर इक सिख दा फर्ज है कि ओर  
शस्त्र रखे ।”

And then he asks, did the Sikh Guru Har-gobind go to emperor Jahangir to apply for a licence to get the arms. Did Guru Gobind Singh go to emperor Aurangzeb to apply for a licence for arms?

And yet they were able to take on the Mughal Empire. Likewise he exhorts the Sikhs to get arms from wherever they can and be ready for the Dharamyudh, a bigger Dharamyudh that is yet to come. And then he says repeatedly: “I have been told that the Government police is going to invade the Golden Temple to make arrests. We have only 150 people here in arms. We will shed our life to defend ourselves”. At the same time, he exhorts the villagers “When that happens, the time for action will have come”. He says this regularly in his speeches. What do we do? As I have already said, the solution is within very easy grasp if the Government means business because I think the Akalis are beginning to tire of this long agitation that has been going on. May I suggest—and I wish the Home Minister were present here for me to make a personal request. About a year ago, I made a suggestion that the Prime Minister should go to the Golden Temple not as a Prime Minister but as a pilgrim, as a gesture of goodwill to a community whose feelings have been unnecessarily exacerbated—my last suggestion was perhaps turned down as a kind of political gimmick, which it was not, I meant it with all earnestness—there is another occasion now. The next full moonlit night will be Guru Nanak's

birthday. There could be no greater gesture of goodwill to be a community than for the Prime Minister to take courage in her hands and walk to the temple—not send the police but walk into it—and go and see this man—Sant Bhindranwala or whoever is there—without any arms and tell them: “We mean goodwill, we mean peace”. And if the next full moon is too soon, there is Guru Gobind Sings's birthday next month. These are two sacred occasions. If the Prime Minister gives a lead in this matter, I have not the slightest doubt that the problem of Punjab will be settled and the claims that the Congress Party is making that they are going to save the country may have an element of truth. Thank you.

SHRI MADAN BHATIA (Nominated):  
Madam, Vice-Chairman. I stand to support this Resolution. To some extent, the hon. Member, Shri Khushwant Singh, is right that this is a political problem. But I wish to express my dissent from those hon. Members who have pleaded the cause of negotiations with the Akali Party at this juncture. Madam, I strongly feel that it is not a question of Chandigarh, not is it a question of water dispute, nor is it a question of adjustment of boundaries. If that had been the question, I would have whole-heartedly supported the voice of negotiations and settlement with the Akali Party. But, unfortunately, I believe that this is a problem which India is going to live with for many years to come. In order to understand the rationale of this particular development, we have to bear in mind the historical developments in the leading federal democracies of the world. There can be no negotiations under the sinister shadow of Anandpur Sahib Resolution. I mention this Resolution because that will enable us to understand the true character, the aims and the objectives of this agitation. The hon. Member, Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet made an attempt to play down the contents of this Resolution. I respectfully submit, Madam, that this resolution is out and out a secessionist document. I have got a copy of this resolution and if we go through this resolution we cannot believe that the settlement of

[Shri Madan Bhatia]

these three problems are going to buy peace for all times to come to the people of Punjab. This may be a temporary settlement, this may help the Government and the hon. Home Minister to buy peace but it will not help the people of Punjab to buy themselves the peace for all times to come. This will be only the beginning of the further demands. have got this resolution. It says:—

"To give this 'birth right' of the Khalsa a practical shape, creation of the necessary environment and achievement of a political constitution are the basic ideological planks of the Akali Dal.

To achieve this and the Akali Dal will use all possible means and struggle so that:

(a) The areas which have deliberately and intentionally been kept out of Punjab—Dalhousie in Gurdaspur district, Chandigarh, Pinjore, Kalka Ambala, Una tehsil and so on."

All these areas will have to be returned to Punjab. The second clause says:—

"In 'new Punjab' the authority of the Centre should be confined only to the defence of the country, foreign relations, communications, railways and currency. All the residuary subjects (departments) should be under the jurisdiction of 'new Punjab' which should have the right to frame its own constitution for these subjects."

The next clause says that "Suitable constitutional and political safeguards should be provided to the Sikhs and other communities residing in other States to protect them from discrimination". And the next clause says:—

"The Akali Dal will strive to make the Constitution of Indian federal in the real sense and ensure that the authority and representation of all the States are equal at the Centre."

I respectfully submit, Madam, that this resolution seeks to take India at least 150 years backward so far as the

development of federal democracy in the world is concerned. It seeks to reverse the history of federal democracy and the constitutional and political development in the twentieth century, impelled as they were by the requirements of modern economies, modern defence, modern finance and modern social welfare activities of the State. As I have stated, we have to consider the whole question in historical perspective and for that purpose, we may be able to understand the true character of these developments by taking a cue from the developments in one of the most leading federal democracies of the world, namely, the United States of America. In the 1770s, the States of the United States of America of Northern America came together and formed a confederation. But within a period of less than ten years they realised that it was not enough to have merely a confederation. The people of America, through a very strong leadership in men like Washington, Hamilton, Madison and Franklin, decided that the true unity of the States can only be obtained if there is a system of federation and that is how the United States of America was born. But even at its birth, George Washington gave a warning to the people of America which rings a bell in the minds of those Indian people to whom the integrity and unity of India is of utmost concern. And I will just quote his words. He said:

"The unity of Government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which enemies will be most constantly and actively directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness acustoming your-

selves to think and speak of it, as of the palladium, of your political safety and prosperity."

These were the words which George Washington uttered at the time of the formation of the United States; and these words hold true even today for the Indian people.

We happened thereafter? The history of the United States for the 65 years of the 19th century is marked by the rise of divisive forces. In the southern States there were demand similar to the ones which are being raised in Punjab today. There is the economic discrimination, they complained; there is a threat to their social institutions, they complained. And the matter came to a head when Abraham Lincoln declared his resolve to abolish slavery in order to preserve the unity and integrity of the United States of America. I say 'unity' because he said: "No nation can survive half slave and half free." The whole issue was ultimately decided by the civil war which for all times to come destroyed the right of secession which was claimed by any particular State of the United States. The Supreme Court declared that all the provisions of the Constitution look towards an indestructible union of indestructible States. And the history of the United States thereafter is the history of accentuation of powers of the Central authority at the expense of the States. And, therefore, I respectfully submit, Madam, that this particular development, comparison of which is drawn with the developments and events of the United States of America in the first 65 years has to be decided bearing in mind whether any negotiations of particular demands are going to solve the problem of Punjab. I respectfully submit: No. The only way in which these forces which have risen in different parts of the country can be dealt with is the way in which they were dealt with in the United States: with an outstretched arm and a strong hand of a strong leadership.

And in the end I would like to say only this much, that unfortunately the Opposition parties by raising the same

slogan of revision of Centre-State relations, though in a different garb, and by seeking the devolution of the powers of the Central authority, have given respect, prestige and legitimacy to the Akali agitation; and I believe, therefore, that it would have been wrong on the part of the hon. Home Minister to expect complete support from the Opposition parties. That would be a triumph of hope over experience. They have acted as political compères of the Akali Dal by joining them in different conclaves in different parts of the country. They share the same political motivation, of destroying the Central authority. They are inspired by the same motives. And that, I respectfully submit, will not help. I only appeal to all the hon. Members on this issue must be dealt with on a national level. And to deal with this issue on a national level, it has to be dealt with in its historical perspective — and in this historical perspective the only answers to face these forces with a strong arm and an outstretched hand.

Thank You.

**SHRI KHUSHWANT SINGH:** The Home Minister is not present here, Nor is his Deputy.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA):** Minister is here. Please bear for a moment. The debate will continue tomorrow. It is not concluding today. The Minister is replying tomorrow. We have a statement at 5 O'clock. Please do not agitate.

**SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA (Uttar Pradesh):** I will take ten minutes. What is there?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA):** Your group has participated.

**SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA:** On this discussion there is no group. I will finish in ten minutes. What will you do in ten minutes? I give my word that I will finish in ten minutes. The group is meant for debates on Bills; it is not meant for discussions.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA): The debate is continuing.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA : Madam, Vice-Chairman, with all respect to you, within ten minutes I will finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA): O.K. Speak.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: I want an assurance from you that our speaker will be allowed to speak tomorrow.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: A point of order.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.]

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: Mr Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Ordinance, and for that I submit very briefly that after whatever have heard from the speakers who have preceded me I think that the Punjab issue should be placed in a proper perspective.

It has both internal and international ramifications. The international ramification is that today everybody knows that Punjab extremists are being trained in subversive activities in Mianwala under the charge of Gen. Niazi who was brought to his knees by our great Indian Army. He wants to take revenge. Therefore, you cannot say that there is no international ramification.

Apart from that, we also know that the seeds of this movement are also in the United States. 'Khalistan' is proclaimed there. They are declaring themselves to be an independent nation. They have made all the preparations, and the ramifications are there. To say that it is very easy, that it is not a law and order problem, is not correct. My friend, Shri Khushwant Singh, knows it. When such powerful forces are behind this how can we say that it is not a law and order problem?

Secondly, Sir, there is internal remification. Apart from what my friend, Mr. Bhatia, stated about the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, the Akali Dal has said that they cannot, under any circumstances,

separate religion from politics. The foundation of our Indian union is secularism. If you disturb the foundation, what remains? Therefore, when the foundation of the Indian union is challenged, how can it be said that it is not a law and order problem? If you say that you are going to disturb secularism in a part of India then, how do you say that it is not a law and order problem? It is a problem, according to my friend, Choudhry, which is psychological. According to my friend. Shri Khushwant Singh, it is something but not a law and order problem, that it is a political problem (*Time bell rings*).

Sir, I have got five minutes more. You gave me ten minutes. I will finish in five more minutes. I was given ten minutes; I am finishing.

The imposition of President's rule, you may say, has improved the situation to a certain extent. But I don't know why nothing is being done against the smugglers, the anti-social elements and the Naxalites. These are the three sections which are actively continuing the terrorist activities. I would like to know from the Home Minister who is sleeping, who is not even listening,...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is listening.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA : With his eyes closed, I do not know whether he is doing "sadhna". What I am saying is, why these three elements, who are basically responsible for these things, have not been touched. They know they are. They are still at large. Nothing has been done against them.

Lastly, my friend has talked of a solution. Yes. But the solution is not with the Akalis. The solution is with Bhindranwale, about whose speech he said he was pained. And Bhindranwale is the man who is controlling the whole agitation. Our friend, Mr. Longowal has brought at least 80 armed persons from his village to guard himself. Even he is afraid of his life. Some trusted people, his relations, have come from his own village to protect his life. Then is it in the hands of the Akalis? So why should

you talk something very big and give philosophical lectures without facing realities? The realities are that now it is not in the hands of those who have launched the movement. It has gone into the hands of the extremists who are in league with foreign powers. Therefore, whatever is happening in Punjab is very much a law and order problem. There is no solution except to tackle it as a law and order problem and whatever steps are necessary have to be taken. I do not want to use the word "wipe out". But if it is not tackled, if peace does not return of the confidence of the Sikhs in the law and order institution does not return, then they will exploit that also and say that every Sikh is behind this movement. Now people are afraid because important persons are killed. Even a DIG is killed in the Golden Temple. Therefore, if the law and order problem is solved, if the extremists are tackled, then you will see that the patriotic Sikhs of Punjab will oppose these Akalis, will oppose these terrorists. The patriots will remain with India. They are the supporters of the unity and freedom of India. They have always defended the unity and freedom of India. Therefore, I want extremely assertive steps against terrorists and extremists, and the hand of Bhindranwale who are creating terror in Punjab.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Shiva Chandra Jha. Five minutes only.

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : उपसभापति महोदय, सत पाल मित्तल जी जब बोल रहे थे तो उन्होंने कहा था कि राष्ट्रपति शासन को लागू किया गया उसका हम स्वागत करते हैं और इसको सख्ती के साथ निपटाया जाए। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति शासन से ज्यादा सख्ती और क्या हो सकती है? क्या आप चाहते हैं कि वहां मार्शल-ला लागू किया जाए? आप क्या चाहते हैं? हमारे साथी भाटिया जी सारे इतिहास को बता रहे थे...

SHRI SYED SIBTEY RAZI (Uttar Pradesh): What is the point of order in this?

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : यह प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर नहीं है। आप हाउस में पूछते हैं या हाउस के बाहर रहते हैं। सारे इतिहास को इन्होंने बताया और कहा कि लिंकन ने जैसा किया। लिंकन ने आखिरी में कहा। जब अमर को फोर्ज ने हमला किया उस वक्त डिक्लेरेशन आप वार नहीं किया था। उसके नीचे जानसन 5P.M. था। इसलिए मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या आप पंजाब में अकालियों से डिक्लेरेशन आप वार करना चाहते हैं? अगर आप मानव को निपटाना चाहते हैं तो अकालियों से बातचीत कीजिए। पंजाब में जो नये गवर्नर नियुक्त किये गये हैं, श्री बी० डी० पांडे इन्होंने जब वे गृह मंत्री जी से और प्रधान मंत्री जी से मिले तो कहा कि एस्ट्रॉव मेजर लेने की जरूरत नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन्होंने ठीक सलाह दी। जो वर्तमान कानून है उसी के अन्दर सारी चीजों को निपटा जा सकता है। यह इन्होंने बिल्कुल ठीक कहा। असल में वहां पर जो शासन था, बाबू दरबारा सिंह का, वह बिल्कुल निकम्मा शासन था। उसको बहुत पहले ही निकाला जाना चाहिए था। लेकिन उसको हटाया नहीं गया। जब वहां पर राष्ट्रपति शासन है तो आपको कोई ऐसी हरकत नहीं करनी चाहिए जिससे स्थिति और बिगड़ जाये। हम लोगों को सन् 1942 का तजुर्बा याद है। जब कठोर मेजर लिये जाते हैं तो दूसरी तरफ से भी उसी प्रकार से मुकाबले होता है। जब मंत्री महोदय सेलेक्ट कमेटी से निकले तो इन्होंने कहा कि अकालियों से तब बातचीत करेंगे जब स्थिति नार्मल हो जाएगी। पहले कहा कि हम अकालियों के साथ बातचीत करने को तैयार हैं। ये जो आप समरसोल्ट करते

हैं कि क्या आप पंजाब में अकालियों से डिक्लेरेशन आप वार करना चाहते हैं? अगर आप मानव को निपटाना चाहते हैं तो अकालियों से बातचीत कीजिए। पंजाब में जो नये गवर्नर नियुक्त किये गये हैं, श्री बी० डी० पांडे इन्होंने जब वे गृह मंत्री जी से और प्रधान मंत्री जी से मिले तो कहा कि एस्ट्रॉव मेजर लेने की जरूरत नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इन्होंने ठीक सलाह दी। जो वर्तमान कानून है उसी के अन्दर सारी चीजों को निपटा जा सकता है। यह इन्होंने बिल्कुल ठीक कहा। असल में वहां पर जो शासन था, बाबू दरबारा सिंह का, वह बिल्कुल निकम्मा शासन था। उसको बहुत पहले ही निकाला जाना चाहिए था। लेकिन उसको हटाया नहीं गया। जब वहां पर राष्ट्रपति शासन है तो आपको कोई ऐसी हरकत नहीं करनी चाहिए जिससे स्थिति और बिगड़ जाये। हम लोगों को सन् 1942 का तजुर्बा याद है। जब कठोर मेजर लिये जाते हैं तो दूसरी तरफ से भी उसी प्रकार से मुकाबले होता है। जब मंत्री महोदय सेलेक्ट कमेटी से निकले तो इन्होंने कहा कि अकालियों से तब बातचीत करेंगे जब स्थिति नार्मल हो जाएगी। पहले कहा कि हम अकालियों के साथ बातचीत करने को तैयार हैं। ये जो आप समरसोल्ट करते

[श्री शिव चन्द्र झा]

है, यह उचित नहीं है। आपको अपनी नीति साफ करनी चाहिए।

आपने ट्राइब्यूनल की बात कही। लेकिन ट्राइब्यूनल का विरोध किसने किया? आपके भजनलाल ने किया। वे नहीं चाहते हैं कि चंडोगढ़ और फाजिल्का और अबोहर पंजाब को दिया जाए। प्रधान मंत्री नहीं चाहती हैं कि फाजिल्का और अबोहर पंजाब को दिया जाए क्योंकि यह उनके वोट बैंक हैं। फोर्थ लोक सभा में जब हम लोग थे तो उस वक्त ऐसी बात आई थी कि चंडोगढ़ पंजाब को दे दिया जाए। अबोहर और फाजिल्का पर रेफेरेंडम की बात कही जाती है। लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री नहीं चाहती हैं कि ये इलाके पंजाब में जायें क्योंकि ये उनके लिए वोट बैंक हैं। जब हम फोर्थ लोक सभा में थे तो उस वक्त हमने सोचा था कि चंडोगढ़ शायद पंजाब को मिल जाये और यह होने वाला ही था, लेकिन नहीं हो सका। हरियाणा को अबोहर और फाजिल्का दे दिया जाए। लेकिन ये बातें नहीं हो सकीं। इसी तरह से वाटर डिस्प्यूट का मामला भी है। ट्राइब्यूनल का बात बार-बार आती रही है। लेकिन जिस रूप में सरकार काम कर रही है उससे कहना पड़ता है कि इनकी नियत, साफ नहीं है। डिवाइड एंड रूल, जैसा अंग्रेज किया करते थे, ऐसा ही फिजा पंजाब में पैदा करके वहां पर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू कर दिया। जो अकाली हैं, बंसकली वे गैस लविंग पोपुलस हैं, कुछ एलीमेंट्स ऐसे हैं। गांधी जी को किसने मारा? गांधी को ही कम्युनिटी के एक आदमी ने मारा, एक बिगड़े हुए आदमी ने मारा। ऐसे बिगड़े हुए लोग हर कम्युनिटी में होते हैं इसलिए चिंता करने की जरूरत नहीं है। अगर उनको बुलाइये, एक बार नहीं, दो बार नहीं, चार बार बुलाइये, पांच बार बुलाइए ताकि आगे का रास्ता खुल सके और मामला

हल हो सके। सिविल वार डिक्लेयर करके मार्शल-ला जारी कर दें मैं इसके पक्ष में नहीं हूँ। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं चाहूंगा कि शीघ्र से शीघ्र सरकार बातचीत के दरवाजे खोले।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN This debate will conclude today. The Home Minister will reply tomorrow. Only the Home Minister's reply will be there tomorrow.

Now the statement by the Commerce Minister....

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: This cannot be tolerated.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have called the Minister to make his statement.

SHRI GULAM MOHI-UD-DIN SHAWL: This cannot be tolerated.... (Interruptions).

## 1. STATEMENT BY MINISTER

### Import of Animal Tallow

THE MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND SUPPLY (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, with your permission, Sir, I wish to make this statement to inform this House of the various steps that have been taken by Government pertaining to the import of animal tallow.

2. As the Hon'ble Members are aware, on 24th August, 1983, Import Trade Control Order No. 27 was issued under Section 3(3) of the Imports & Exports (Control) Act, 1947, prohibiting clearance for home consumption of beef, buffalo and pig tallow, in any form, imported into India. This extra-ordinary step was taken in deference to the sentiments of the people.

3. As a matter of abundant precaution, on 1st October 1983, orders were issued banning altogether the import of any other